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AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

and Guide to Alexis Studies

(LA VIE DE SAINT ALEXIS)

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Histoire des idées
et critique littéraire

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Preface

Avec ce beau poème s'ouvre véritablement
la littérature française du moyen âge.
Robert Bossuat.

This dignified narrative poem which heralds so eloquently the vast and varied range of medieval French literature is indubitably the finest of all the Saints' Lives which were so characteristic a feature of a period when literature largely owed its existence to the Church and flourished mainly to propagate the teachings of the Church. Suspicion of the married state, praise of virginity and the ascetic life, praise too of the theology and authority of the Church, — these are the moral bases of the Hildesheim version of the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, a poem obviously written by a cleric and intended to be sung or recited in churches and elsewhere on various occasions and probably annually on 17th July, the feast-day of the Saint. The poem, happily, is not merely a piece of ecclesiastical propaganda, it is also a work of considerable literary merit. It has form and comeliness, it has pathos and a nobility of diction not often equalled in any of the early French poems which have come down to us, and it has too, from time to time, sly touches of humour to relieve the essential sadness of the story. Apart, however, from a perceptive appreciation of the literary value of the poem by Gaston Paris in his 1872 edition and in his article in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 163-80, the *Vie de Saint Alexis* was for many years regarded by scholars mainly as a rich mine for linguistic research, and it was not until the turn of the century that its literary merits began to be appreciated and discussed in detail.

The principal aim of this Annotated Bibliography is to note and comment on as complete a list as is possible of the various editions of the XIIth century Hildesheim MS of this XIth century poem, and of the many books and articles published between 1845 and 1983, dealing with the origins of the Alexis legend and with the linguistic, literary and moral features of this the finest version of the poem in

French. My secondary aim has been to draw the attention of scholars to a wide selection of editions of and articles concerning later versions of the story of St Alexis in French and in other languages. In the final section of the Bibliography I have given a selective list of books and articles which seem to me to be particularly relevant to Alexis studies and which I hope may also be of assistance to scholars wishing to embark on the editing of Anglo-Norman and Central French texts of the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth centuries. The Table of Contents makes plain the scope of the various sections of the Bibliography.

All items are numbered consecutively throughout and are arranged in chronological order in each section. Cross-references are given as numbers. There are indices of writers' names (authors, editors and reviewers), of works other than the *Vie de Saint Alexis* mentioned in the annotations, and of abbreviations. Reviews and their authors are mentioned after the comment on the book in question and are indicated by an indented point. The relatively few items which I have not been able to consult are marked with an asterisk.

I record here with gratitude the kind financial grant awarded to me by the British Academy, which enabled me to work in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and in the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire in Strasbourg. I am most grateful to the very helpful librarians of these two Institutions and also to the equally helpful staff of the British Library in London and of the Bodleian and Taylorian Libraries in Oxford. For the information given in the section concerning the Alexis story in Russian, I am deeply indebted to Professor William Harrison, Head of the Department of Russian in the University of Durham. And finally, I express my sincere thanks to Monsieur Alain Dufour of the Librairie Droz for his constant interest and help in the publication of this Annotated Bibliography.

The Paddox, Oxford. C. Storey.

Abbreviations

Anal. Boll.	*Analecta Bollandiana*
A-N	Anglo-Norman
Anon.	Anonymous
Archiv	*Herrig's Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*
Arch. Rom.	*Archivum Romanicum*
BEHE	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, (Brussels 1898-1901)
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cahiers	*Cahiers de la Civilisation Médiévale*
cf.	*compare*
CFMA	*Classiques français du Moyen Age*
Ch. de R.	*Chanson de Roland*
CUP	*Cambridge University Press*
Dict.	*Dictionary*
Diss.	*Dissertation*
Ed.	*Editor*
Edn.	*Edition*
EETS	*Early English Text Society*
fol.	*folio*
fonds fr.	*fonds français*
FS	*French Studies*
Hisp. Rev.	*Hispanic Revue*
ll.	lines
Med. Aev.	*Medium Aevum*
Med. Aev. Rom.	*Medium Aevum Romanicum*
Mitt. Lat. Jhb.	*Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*
MLA	*Modern Language Association*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*

Mod. Phil.	*Modern Philology*
MUP	Manchester University Press
n.d.	no date
Neophil.	*Neophilologus*
Neuphil.	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
OF	Old French
OT	Old Testament
OUP	Oxford University Press
r	recto
RBPH	*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*
Rom.	*Romania*
Rom. Jhb.	*Romanistisches Jahrbuch*
RLR	*Revue des Langues Romanes*
R. Ling. Rom.	*Revue de Linguistique Romane*
Ro. No.	*Romance Notes*
Rom. Phil.	*Romance Philology*
SATF	*Société des Anciens Textes Français*
SF	*Studi Francesi*
SP	*Studies in Philology*
v	verso
v.	verse
v.	*vide*
VSA	*Vie de Saint Alexis*
YFS	*Yale French Studies*
YWMLS	*Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*
ZDA	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*
ZFSL	*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*
ZRP	*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*

CHAPTER ONE

The Legend of Saint Alexis origins and development

Some of the more recent editors of the *VSA* give useful summaries of the development of the 5th century Syriac story of the «man of God», (24, 32); the most detailed account, however, is that of A. Amiaud (4).

1. Dashkov, D. «Verses and tales about Alexis, the man of God», (the article is in Russian), *Besiedi v obshestvie lyubitelei russiskoy slovesnosti pri Imperatorskom Moskouskom Universitetye. Vipusk vtoroy*, Moscow 1868, pp. 20-50.

   Dashkov gives a straightforward account of the growth of the Alexis legend and of its various verse and prose forms in different languages. Amiaud (4, p. xxx) holds that there are some inaccuracies in the work, but these are not very important.

2. Paris, Gaston, «La Vie de Saint Alexis en vers octosyllabiques», *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 163-180.

   In the early paragraphs of this article Paris summarised the development of the Alexis legend and mentioned that important studies of the subject were about to be published by L. Duchesne (6) and A. Amiaud (4).

3. Blau, Max F., *Zur Alexiuslegende*, (Inaug. Diss.), Leipzig and Vienna: Gerold, 1888, 40 pp.

   An interesting study. Blau had the advantage of reading Amiaud's book before its publication (4).

   • G. Paris, *Rom.*, XVIII (1889), 299-302.

4. Amiaud, Arthur, *La Légende syriaque de saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu*, *BEHE.*, LXXIX, Paris: Vieweg, 1889, lxxxv + 90 pp.

   An admirably detailed and uniquely valuable study of the 5th century story of Mar Riscia, «Monsieur le Prince», the «man of God». The

Syriac text and its translation form an appendix to this excellent work. (*v.* 245).

- Anon., *Rom.*, XVIII (1889), 527.

5. Poncelet, Albert, S.J., «La Légende de Saint Alexis», *La Science Catholique, Revue des questions religieuses*, IV (1889-1890), 269-271; 632-645.

   The first of the two articles is a consideration of Amiaud's book (4) on the legend, while the second is a perceptive study of the development of the Alexis story. Towards the end of the second article Poncelet asks whether it is theologically sound for Catholics to worship a partly legendary character. He concludes that all is well as the 5th century «man of God» did exist!

6. Duchesne, Louis, «Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen Age, VII, (1): Les légendes chrétiennes de l'Aventin», *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, X (1890), 225-250.

   Duchesne's article gives a very detailed account of the spread of the Alexis legend in Rome. There are several references to Amiaud's book, (4). Duchesne points out that there are no Latin documents with any reference to St Alexis earlier than the last years of the 10th century.

7. Plaine, François, (Dom), O.S.B., «La Vie Syriaque de Saint Alexis et l'authenticité substantielle de sa vie latine», *Revue des Questions historiques*, LI (1892), 560-576.

   With the help of Amiaud's work Plaine endeavours to show that we can rely on the authenticity of the Alexis story and that the first Syriac life gives us «tous les traits essentiels de la personnalité historique de saint Alexis», (p. 576).

8. Addonizio, Francesco, *La Leggenda di S. Alessio nella litteratura e nell'arte*, Naples: P. Leone, 1930, 108 pp.

   A summary of the origins of the story of St. Alexis drawn mainly from the works of Amiaud, Paris, Duchesne and Rajna, (4, 14, 6, 151).

   - R. Altrocchi, *Speculum*, VII (1932), 114.

9. Hermann, Léon, «Qui est Saint Alexis?» *L'Antiquité Classique*, XI (1942), 235-241.

   Hermann suggests that Commodien, the 5th century author of the

Carmen Apologeticum and the *Instructiones* might be the Roman original of St Alexis. Commodien was the son of a rich and noble, but pagan family and referred to himself, in the form of an acrostic, in the last section of his *Instructiones* as *Mendicus Christi*, a sobriquet probably based on that of St John Calybita who was called the «beggar of Christ». This is an interesting but not altogether convincing theory.

- B. de Gaiffier, *Anal. Boll.*, LXII (1944), 281-283.

10. Stebbins, Charles E., «Les Origines de la légende de Saint Alexis», *RBPH*, LI (1973), 497-507.

Mainly a summary of Amiaud's book.

CHAPTER 2

Editions of the «Vie de Saint Alexis»

BASED ON THE HILDESHEIM MS *L* AND WITH VARIANTS FROM SOME OR ALL OF THE RELATED MSS *A*, *V*, *P1*, *P2*, *S*, *Ma*, *Mb*, *Q*.

The details of the MSS on which the editions mentioned in this section are based are as follows:

1. The 12th century Hildesheim MS known as *L*, since it was formerly in the monastery library at Lamspringen in Hanover, forms part of the St Albans Psalter (fol. 29 r-34 r) which is now the property of the church of St Godehard in Hildesheim, Hanover and is kept in the library of the Jesuit College in that town. This is undoubtedly the best of all the MSS of the 11th century *VSA*. The only missing lines are: 255, 274, 275, 349, 472.

2. 12th century MS *A*, formerly in Lord Ashburnham's collection, now in Paris, BN nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 4503, fol. 11 v-19 v. 21 strophes and 32 isolated lines are missing.

3. 12th century MS *V*, in the Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. lat. 5334, fol. 125 v-126 r; 129 r-131 r. The *V* fragment begins at line 425 and continues to the end of the poem, omitting lines 450, 452, 603 and with an extra line at the end of strophe 106.

4. 13th century MS *P* (sometimes called *P1*), Paris, BN fonds fr. 19525, fol. 26 v-30 r. 9 complete strophes and 8 isolated lines are missing.

5. 13th century MS *P2*, Manchester, MS French 6, Rylands Library. Strophes 1-34 and lines 1 and 2 of strophe 35.

6. 13th century MS *S*, Paris, BN fonds fr. 12471 fol. 51 v-74 r. This version contains numerous alterations and additions to the original story. There are 1356 lines.

7. 13th century rhyming version MS *Ma*, Paris, BN fonds fr. 1553 fol. 390 v-400 v.

8. 13th century rhyming version similar to *Ma*: MS *Mb*, Carlisle Chapter Library.

9. 14th century version in mono-rhyming quatrains, MS Q, Paris, BN fonds fr. 1555 fol. 108 v-119 v. There are 196 strophes of which 7 are missing, — 64, 149, 150, 151, 162, 177, 180. (See also sections 14,139, 145.) L. Pannier has substituted strophes from a subsidiary contemporary manuscript in his edition (*v.* 14).

THE KNOWN EDITIONS OF L ARE AS FOLLOWS

11. Müller, Wilhelm, «La Chanson d'Alexis», *ZDA*, V (1845), 299-318.
This transcription of the MS *L* made by W. Müller of Göttingen is the first published version of the *VSA*. In his brief Introduction Müller states that the parchment MS is the property of the Church of St Godehard in Hildesheim and that it was formerly to be found in the Abbey of Lamspringen, to which it had been taken in 1643 by the English Benedictines who at that time occupied the former nunnery. After his transcription of the Prologue, Müller describes the MS and mentions several ways in which the version of *L* differs from the version in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. The whole of the poem then follows, but it is unfortunately not very faithfully transcribed.

12. Gessner, «Das altfranzösische Alexiuslied», *Archiv*, XVII (1855), 189-227.
Gessner, (Christian name undiscoverable; the article is signed «Dr Gessner»), enumerates some of the errors in Müller's transcription of the MS *L* and prints a truer version of the poem. He does not print the Prologue. In his Introduction he describes the poet's versification and comments on the handwriting of the scribe and on the way in which words are joined. His notes on the language of the poem are interesting and valuable.

13. Hofmann, Conrad, *Alexis. Pariser Glossar 3692*, Munich: Verlag der Kgl. Akademie, 1868, 54 pp.
This painstaking and important book is in three parts:
    1. Ein unedirtes altfranzösisches Prosastück aus der Lambspringer Handschrift.
    2. Das altfranzösische Gedicht auf den heil. Alexius, kritisch bearbeitet.
    3. Das zweitälteste unedirte altfranzösische Glossar.

In Part 2 (pp. 2-41) we have the first critical edition of the *VSA* based on the MSS *L* and *P*. Hofmann prints the prologue as well as the poem, and comments on the presence of assonances and at times rhymes in the former. In my opinion the assonances and rhymes could possibly be purely accidental, though it is tempting to agree with Hofmann and with Tyssens who shares his view, (*v.* 115, 355).

14. Paris, Gaston et Pannier, Léopold, *La Vie de Saint Alexis, poème du XI^e siècle et renouvellements des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles publiés avec préfaces, variantes, notes et glossaire*, Paris: A. Franck, 1872, xii + 416 pp; Vieweg, 1887, xii + 417 pp. (reproduction de l'édition de 1872).

The fundamental study and edition of the MS *L* of the *VSA* which occupies Part 1 of the book is worthy of very close attention even though we no longer believe in the validity of G. Paris's attempt to reconstruct the poem as it may have existed in the eleventh century. His version, he says (p. 135) «offre un spécimen admissible de la bonne langue française telle qu'elle devait se parler et s'écrire au milieu du XI^e siècle». The language of *L* is discussed in great detail, variants of *P*, *S*, *M* are given in footnotes, variants of *L* are given after the text and these are followed by helpful notes. Paris says (p. 29) that he believes the *VSA* to be written «dans une langue sensiblement plus ancienne que celle de la *Chanson de Roland*» and suggests (pp. 43 et seq.) that the author might possibly have been the 11th century hagiographer, Tedbalt de Vernon, Canon of Rouen (cf. 208).

In Part II G. Paris gives an edition of *S* (fonds fr. 12471) with no study of the language, and in Part III an edition of the 13th century rhymed version *M* (fonds fr. 1553) again without any study of the language. In Part IV, L. Pannier edits similarly the 14th century *Q* version in monorhyming quatrains of which he mentions seven MSS, (*v.* 139). There is a general index of words and themes. For details of an eighth MS not known to Pannier, *v.* 145.

- 1. A. Boucherie, *RLR*, V (1874), 5-37. In this important and appreciative review, Boucherie nevertheless says — «Tout d'abord je lui conteste son principe même, c'est-à-dire le droit de ramener à une orthographe uniforme le texte primitif du *Saint Alexis*. (p. 8)
- 2. A. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, V (1912), 327 (a reprint of his review of 1872 in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, Stück 23, pp. 881 et seq.).

15. Stengel, Edmund M., *La Cançun de saint Alexis, und einige kleinere altfranzösische Gedichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, Nebst vol-*

ständigem Wörterverzeichnis zu E. Koschwitz's: «Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française» und zu beifolgenden Texten, Marburg: Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchandlung, 1882, 260 pp.

The diplomatic text of *L* with variants from *A*, *P*, *S* and at times from *M* and *Q*, together with a fair number of emendations. There is a detailed description of *L*, a glossary of all the words in the OF texts in Koschwitz's *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française publiés pour les cours universitaires*, Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 5th Edition, 1897, 50 pp., (which does not contain an extract from the *VSA*), and the full text of the Latin *Vita*.

- 1. A. Boucherie, *RLR*, XXI (1882), 254.
- 2. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XI (1882), 603-604.

16. Foerster, Wendelin und Koschwitz, Edouard, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch (Die ältesten Sprachdenkmäler mit einem Anhang) Zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und Seminarübungen*, 1884 (1921 sechste Auflage besorgt von Alfons Hilka; 1932 reprint), Leipzig: Reisland, 1921, 326 pp.

On pp. 98-162 Foerster and Koschwitz give a diplomatic text of the MS *L* with variants from M,P,S in footnotes. The Latin *Vita* is printed in the appendix, pp. 299-315. There are useful bibliographies on pp. 98-99 and 298.

- 1. C. Chabaneau, *RLR*, XXVII (1885), 204-205.
- 2. P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXI (1902), 400-402.

17. Paris, Gaston, *La Vie de saint Alexis, poème du XI^e siècle, texte critique publié par Gaston Paris*, Paris: Vieweg, 1885, viii + 26 pp.

A plain text based on G. Paris's 1872 edition but taking account of the comments of various scholars, (*v.* 14).

18. Vatke, Theodor, «Das Leben des heiligen Alexis. Mit Beifügung des altfranzösischen Originals (aus dem 11. Jahrhundert), nach der Ausgabe von Gaston Paris, übersetzt von T.V.», *Archiv*, LXXIII (1885), 290-324.

A relatively faithful translation of *L* into German rhyming stanzas (a a b b a) followed by some brief notes. The poem begins

> Gut war die Welt dereinst in alter Zeit
> Da Lieb und Treu es gab, Gerechtigkeit,
> Da war auch Glaube da, der heut nichts gilt,
> Vervandelt alles ist, entfärbet ist das Bild,
> Nie wieder kehret die Vergangenheit.

19. Stengel, Edmund, *La Cançun de Saint Alexis. Photographie der*

Hildesheimer Handschrift zu Prof. Dr. Edmund Stengel's Abdruck im Heft 1 der von ihm veröffentlichten: Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, Hildesheim: photographiert und in Lichtdruck ausgeführt von F.H. Bödeker, 1886, (12 plates, no text).

Considering its date this is a good set of photographs of *L*. There is now, however, a much clearer set in the Library of the Warburg Institute, London.

20. Bödeker, F.H., *La Cançun de Saint Alexis. Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Hildesheim par F.H. Bödeker*, Paris: H. Welter, 1890, (12 plates, no text).

A re-issue of the original Hildesheim set of photographs.

21. Paris, Gaston, *La Vie de Saint Alexis. Poème du XI^e siècle, Texte critique, avec un lexique complet et une table des assonances*, Paris: Champion, *CFMA*, 1903 et seq., 7th edition 1967, vi + 51 pp.

This plain text of G. Paris's 1872 critical version of the *VSA* replaced, with certain alterations explained in the Preface, a similar edition published by G. Paris for the use of university students in 1885, Paris: Vieweg, viii + 26 pp. (17).

22. Rösler, Margarete, *Sankt Alexius, Altfranzösische Legendendichtung des 11. Jahrhunderts, mit Benützung der handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen von Wendelin Förster*, (*sic*) Halle: Sammlung romanische Übungstexte XV, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1928, 1941, 52 pp.

M. Rösler's 1928 text is virtually that of G. Paris (14) but a few alterations are made based on manuscript notes left by W. Foerster. The Introduction deals mainly with the history of the legend. There is a complete glossary with etymologies.

In her 1941 edition M. Rösler abandons Foerster's suggestions and reproduces the *L* version with some alterations based on *A*, *P*, *S* and *V*. There are notes and a glossary.

- 1. Anon., *Rom.*, LIV (1928), 612.
- 2. H. Breuer, *ZRP*, *L* (1930), 625-7.

23. Dedeck-Héry, Venceslas L., *The Life of St. Alexis. An Old French poem of the Eleventh Century, with an Introduction and a special Glossary*, New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1931, 82 pp.

Dedeck-Héry reproduces verbatim Gaston Paris's *CFMA* text

(21). There is a short introductory chapter and a glossary with etymologies but with inadequate line references.

- 1. E. Hoepffner, *RLR*, LXVI (1932), 359-360.
- 2. R. Lévy, *MLN*, XLVII (1932), 533-534.
- 3. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LVIII (1932), 319.

24. Meunier, Jean-Marie, *La Vie de Saint Alexis, poème français du XI^e siècle, texte du manuscrit de Hildesheim, traduction littérale, étude grammaticale, Glossaire*, Paris: Droz, 1933, 434 pp.

This is in many ways a most unusual edition, almost a complete introduction to OF based on the MS *L*. Meunier begins with a detailed study of the origins of the legend. This is followed by the Latin *Vita* and by the text of the MS *L*, with only minor emendations and with a translation on the facing pages. Variants from MSS *A*, *P*, *S* are given at the foot of each page. On p. 69 Meunier gives variants from the Rylands MS French 6 which contains the first 34 strophes of the poem and the first two lines of strophe 35, (*v.* 149). After the text there is a long and valuable chapter on the development of medieval French verse from Latin rhythmic verse and on the use of the decasyllabic line by the author of the poem. There follows a short chapter on «La Patrie et le nom du poète» and a long chapter (168 pp.) entitled «Notes grammaticales». And finally there is a complete glossary with translations, etymologies and historical and linguistic comments. Unfortunately, the spellings in the notes and the glossary do not always conform to the spelling in the text of the poem. There is no bibliography.

- 1. E. Hoepffner, *RLR*, LXVII (1934), 143-145.
- 2. B. de Gaiffier, *Anal. Boll.*, LII, (1934), 131-132.
- 3. M. Rösler, *ZFSL*, LX (1937), 238-239.

25. Storey, Christopher, *Saint Alexis. Etude de la Langue du Manuscrit de Hildesheim, suivie d'une édition critique du texte d'après le manuscrit L avec commentaire et glossaire*, Paris: Droz, 1934, viii + 155 pp.

The text of *L*, variants from *A*, *P*, *S*, *V*, some emendations, linguistic commentary, a detailed study of the phonology and morphology of the language of *L* and a complete glossary and index of proper names. The first edition of the *VSA* to include variants from *V*.

- 1. E. Hoepffner, *RLR*, LXVII (1934), 143-144.
- 2. G. Rohlfs, *Archiv*, CLXVI (1935), 151.
- 3. M. Rösler, *ZFSL*, LX (1937), 240-241.

26. Todesco, Venanzio, *La Vita di S. Alessio. Poemetto francese del sec. XI. Introduzione. Versione letterale col testo a fronte e note a cura di Venduzio Todesco*, Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1936, 91 pp.

The Introduction to Todesco's edition deals briefly with the growth and diffusion of the Alexis legend, the pronunciation, versification and literary qualities of the poem.
The text is based on the G. Paris *Classiques Français* edition of 1933 (21) with emendations based on the 1928 edition of M. Rösler (22) and on the readings of *V* as recommended by P. Rajna (151). There is a translation into Italian on the pages facing the text and some brief notes on pp. 83-90. There is no glossary. The titles of works consulted are given in footnotes. The Prologue is omitted. This is not an edition of any great interest or value.

27. Raoux, Marcel, «La Vie de saint Alexis, poème normand, du XI[e] siècle traduit et présenté par Marcel Raoux,» *Nuova et Vetera, Revue Catholique pour la Suisse Romande*, XV, n° 3 (1940), 326-345.

This is simply a translation into modern French of Canon Meunier's text (24) of the *VSA* prepared by M. Raoux for the use of his pupils. The *Notice préliminaire* summarises very briefly Meunier's account of the evolution of the legend of St. Alexis.

28. Storey, Christopher, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, Oxford:Blackwell, 1946, 1958, xvii + 38 pp.; revised edition 1968, xxii + 39 pp.

The text of *L* as in the Droz edition of 1968 (32). The Introduction deals briefly with the history of the legend, the possible authorship and the MSS. There is a summary of the linguistic peculiarities of L, a section on the versification of the poem, notes elucidating difficult passages, a selective glossary and, in the 1968 edition, an annotated bibliography.
As frontispiece to the 1968 edition there is a photograph of the first page of *L* with the drawings of Alexis saying goodbye to his wife, leaving home and paying the boatman.

- 1. J. Orr, *Med. Aev.*, XVI (1947), 59-62.
- 2. E. Southward, *MLR*, XLII (1947), 268-269.
- 3. B. Woledge, *FS*, II (1948), 164-165.
- 4. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXX (1948-1949), 427.
- 5. O. Jodogne, *Les Lettres Romanes*, II (1948), 160; VI (1952), 85-86.
- 6. R.J. Cormier, *French Review*, XLII (1969), 468-469.
- 7. M.D. Legge, *Med. Aev*, XXXIX (1970), 187-189.
- 8. F.J. Warne, *FS*, XXIV (1970), 163-164.

29. Rohlfs, Gerhard, *Sankt Alexius, Altfranzösische Legendendichtung des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1950, 4th edition 1963, 63 pp.

Rohlfs's edition contains the text of *L*, variants of *P*, *A*, *V*, *S*, *M*, some corrections by G. Paris and W. Foerster, the Latin *Vita*, a short, helpful introduction and a selective glossary. There is no linguistic commentary. In a final note to his 4th edition Rohlfs suggests, on the advice of the orientalist Franz Babinger, of Munich, that in the name *Alsis* (normally regarded as the Edessa of the *Vita*), the *Al* is the Arabic def. art. and that the city in question is *Sis*, which appears in other OF works as *Assis* and *Onassis*.)

- 1. E. Lerch, *Rom. Jhb.*, IV (1951), 125-129.
- 2. C. Storey, *MLR*, XLVII (1952), 104.
- 3. O. Jodogne, *Les Lettres Romanes*, VI (1952), 85-86.
- 4. H. Flasche, *ZRP*, LXXIII (1957), 326-328.
- 5. P.F. Dembowski, *Rom. Phil.*, XIX (1966), 627-629.

30. Drašković, Vlado, *La Cančun de Saint Alexis, Texte du manuscrit L*, Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1960, iv + 126 pp.

Drašković makes only some ten corrections in his reproduction of the MS *L*. The diplomatic text is printed facing the corrected text and is followed by a complete glossary with etymologies, and notes on the grammar and pronunciation of 12th century French. There are facsimiles of the first three pages of the MS.

31. Drašković, Vlado, «A propos des éditions critiques du MS *L* de la 'Vie de Saint Alexis'», *Actes du X^e Congrès International de Linguistique et Philosophie Romanes*, 1962, Université de Strasbourg, (Paris: 1965, tomes I — III) t. II, 643-654.

A careful study of the 160 occasions in which in my 1946 edition of the *VSA* (B. Blackwell, Oxford) I have corrected the MS *L*, (*v.* 28). Drašković is of the opinion that the scribe of *L* is so reliable that his version can be published with virtually no alterations. In his own edition, (30) Drašković has made only some ten corrections. If I were preparing a new edition of the *VSA* I should make fewer corrections, but I should not go as far as Drašković has gone, and I am not convinced by all his arguments, interesting and perspicacious though they are.

32. Storey, Christopher, *La Vie de saint Alexis, Texte du Manuscrit de Hildesheim (L). Publié avec une Introduction historique et linguistique, un Commentaire et un Glossaire complet*, Genève: Droz; Paris: Minard, 1968, 157 pp.

A revised and extended version of the 1934 edition, (25). The Introduction deals with the history of the legend, the possible authorship of the poem, the MSS, the versification, the phonology and the morphology of *L*. Annotated bibliography, complete glossary.

- 1. J. Linskill, *MLR*, LXIV (1969), 665-666.
- 2. R. Cormier, *French Review*, XLII (1969), 468-469.
- 3. O. Jodogne, *Les Lettres Romanes*, XXIII (1969), 392-393.
- 4. U. T. Holmes, *Speculum*, XLV (1970), 327-329.
- 5. M.D. Legge, *Med. Aev.*, XXXIX (1970), 187-189.
- 6. J.J. Duggan, *Rom. Phil.*, XXVII (1973), 134-135.

33. Odenkirchen, Carl J., *The Life of St. Alexius in the Old French Version of the Hildesheim Manuscript: the original text reviewed, with comparative Greek and Latin versions, all accompanied by English translations; and an introductory study, and bibliography and appendices*. Classical Folia Editions, (*Medieval Classics Texts and Studies*, IX) Brookline, Mass. and Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1978, 161 pp. 1 pl.

This unusual volume contains an edition of the MS *L* with a facing English prose translation, an English translation of Amiaud's translation of a Syriac version of the Alexis story, an English translation of one of M. Rösler's Greek texts (*v.* 184), the *Vita* as printed in Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch* (*v.* 16) and an English translation and German text of Gœthe's version of an 18th Century folktale of Alexis, (*v.* 248). There is a very unfavourable review by H.S. Robertson, *Speculum*, LV (1980), 385-386, who details many errors and omissions, unexplained and unnecessary emendations, wrong readings and inaccurate translations and Odenkirchen's very odd reference to what he calls the «quite folksy idiom» of the MS *L*!

- 1. G. Roques, *ZRP*, XCV (1979), 664.
- 2. A. Holden, *Les Lettres Romanes*, XXXIV, 4 (1980), 393-394.
- 3. M.D. Legge, *Med. Aev.*, L (1981), 133.

CHAPTER 3

The dating of the poem and of the Hildesheim MS

There is good evidence for believing that the *VSA* was composed in the second half of the 11th century, and almost certainly after the end of the First Crusade (1059), and that the Hildesheim MS was written shortly before 1123.

34. Goldschmidt, Adolph, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchenskulptur des XII. Jahrhunderts, mit 8 Tafeln und 44 Text-Illustrationen*, Berlin: G. Siemens, 1895, 154 pp.

    Because this very important study was largely neglected by scholars, the early editors of the *VSA* remained unaware of the significance of the presence of the story of the saint in the great St. Albans Psalter. It is possible, but not proven, that the poem was inserted in the Psalter when it was given to the St. Albans anchoress, Christina of Markyate, as a *pièce justificative* of her own abandonment of the married state, (v. 38 and 39).
    Goldschmidt considers that the MS *L* was written between 1119 and 1146.

    • M.D. Legge, *MLR*, LI (1956), 228.

35. Paris, Gaston, *La Littérature Normande avant l'Annexion* (912-1204). *Discours lu à la Séance publique de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. Le 1er décembre 1898*, Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1899, 57 pp.

    In this agreable survey of early Norman literature G. Paris expresses his opinion (p. 7) that the *VSA* was first written down in Normandy in about 1040.

    • G. Paris, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 642. (A comment with corrections).

36. Sckommodau, Hans, «Zum altfranzösischen 'Alexiuslied'», *ZRP*, LXX (1954), 161-203.

In this long article Sckommodau discusses the date of the *VSA*, — the poem 11th century, the Hildesheim MS 12th century — the origins of the decasyllabic line, the relationship of the MSS *L*, *A*, *P*, *V*, (*A* he considers to be closer to the original and therefore preferable to *L*) and the influence of the Cathar heresy on the poet's ideas.

37. Legge, M. Dominica, «Archaism and the Conquest», *MLR*, LI (1956), 227-229.
On the probable dates of the Hildesheim MS of the *VSA* and of the Oxford MS of the *Chanson de Roland*.
Professor Legge is of the opinion that *L* was very probably written in or about 1115 and that it was the *L* version that was sung, as Goldschmidt (34) suggested, at the dedication by the Bishop of Durham of the chapel of St. Alexis constructed by Richard de Albini. For further comments by Professor Legge on the dating of *L* see *Med. Aev.*, XXX (1961), 113-117; XXXIX (1970), 187-189; XLIII (1974), 61-63. In *Med. Aev.* (1970) Miss Legge explains that she is now convinced that the *Alexis* was composed in Bec towards the end of the 11th Century.

38. Talbot, Charles H., *The Life of Christina of Markyate, a twelfth century recluse. Edited and translated by C.H. Talbot*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, x + 194 pp.
Talbot regards the presence of the Alexis poem in the St. Albans Psalter, which was presented to Christina, as a *pièce justificative* for her action in leaving her husband and retiring to her hermitage. He is of the opinion that the Psalter was written somewhat later than the consecration in 1145 of the church at Markyate, (cf. 34, 37).
    - 1. P. Grosjean, *Anal. Boll.*, LXXVIII (1960), 197-201.
    - 2. F.M. Powicke, *Med. Aev.*, XXX (1961), 46-49.

39. Pächt, Otto, Dodwell, Charles R., Wormald, Francis. *The St. Albans Psalter*, London: The Warburg Institute, 1960, 294 pp. frontispiece in colour + 174 plates.
In this excellent book referred to elsewhere, (106) C. R. Dodwell points out (pp. 278-280) that the Psalter, in which the MS *L* of the *VSA* is incorporated, must have been written some time before 1123, as the *obit* of Christina of Markyate's protector, Roger the Hermit, is written on the MS in a hand different from the main hand and dated 12th September 1123.

40. Richthofen, Erich von, «Some open problems in the Medieval Epic»

pp. 203-209, *Thought from the Learned Societies of Canada*, Toronto: Gage, 1960, 250 pp.

Richthofen considers as «open» problems such minor matters as AOI and Baligant in the *Chanson de Roland* and such more important problems as the true location of the rearguard battle in the poem and the legendary elements in the story. His main concern, however, is with chronology. When, he wonders, was the original version of the *Chanson de Roland* written down? Was the *Cid* known before the *Chanson de Guillaume* and the *Couronnement Louis*? He feels that the study of stylistic features might indicate a new approach to dating. The poet of the *Chanson de Roland*, for example, seemed to be familiar with the style of the *VSA*. An interesting but inconclusive article.

41. Sckommodau, Hans, «Das Alexiuslied. Die Datierungsfrage und das problem der Askese», pp. 298-324. *Medium Aevum Romanicum. Festschrift für Hans Rheinfelder*, Munich: Max Hueber, 1963, xx + 411 pp.

Sckommodau suggests (pp. 311-328) that it is likely, for linguistic reasons and because of the poet's attitude towards asceticism, that the *VSA* was probably composed later than 1095, i.e. later than the first Crusade. He considers (p. 322) that the Latin poem *Pater Deus ingenite* was derived from the *VSA*, (*v.* 114, 133, 136).

- 1. P. Rickard, *FS*, XVIII (1964), 248-249.
- 2. A. Varvaro, *SF*, VIII (1964), 128.
- 3. B. Müller, *ZFSL*, LXXV (1965), 86-87.

42. Johnson, Phyllis and Cazelles, Brigitte, *Le Vain Siecle Guerpir*, Chapel Hill: Univ. N. Carolina, 1979, 321 pp.

A full comment on this book will be found under No. 298. It is mentioned in this section as there is a consideration of the date and provenance of *L* on pp. 199-200. Professor Johnson summarises the various theories suggested by Gaston Paris (14, 35), M.D. Legge (37), O. Pächt (39) and C. Storey (32, pp. 24 and 25), but comes to no definite conclusion

CHAPTER 4

Comments on the language of the Hildesheim version of the Vie de St. Alexis and details of some relevant general studies

The *VSA* has for long been a happy hunting ground for philologists and grammarians. Very valuable work was done in the nineteenth century, and from time to time fresh and pertinent comments continue to appear. Detailed studies of the language of the Hildesheim MS are to be found in the editions of Gessner (12), G. Paris (14), J.-M. Meunier (24) and C. Storey (25, 28,32).

43. Arbois de Jubainville, H. d', «La phonétique latine de l'époque mérovingienne et la phonétique française du XI[e] siècle dans le *Saint Alexis*,» *Rom.*, I (1872), 318-327.

    A valuable study, based on the 1872 G. Paris edition of the *VSA*, (14), of the phonetic changes in vowels and consonants between the Latin of the Merovingian period and the language of the *VSA*. The critical footnotes by G. Paris are most interesting.

44. Storm, J., «Musgode,» *Rom.*, II (1873), 85-86.

    Storm suggests that *musgode* 254 comes from the Germanic word *muos-gadem* which is virtually the same as the Germanic *mosgada* = «pantry», «store», suggested by G. Paris in his edition of 1872, pp. 186-187, (14); cf. also (56) and (57).

    • G. Alessio, *R. Ling. Rom.*, XVII (1952), 189-190.

45. Joret, Charles, *Du C dans les langues romanes*, Paris: Franck, 1874, 344 pp.

    A very detailed study of the historical and phonetic development

of the consonant in question. There is a useful table of contents, but no index.

- 1. A. Darmesteter, *Rom.*, III (1874), 379-398.
- 2. C. Chabaneau, *RLR*, VII (1875), 403-408.

46. Lücking, Gustav, *Die ältesten französischen Mundarten. Eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1877, iv + 266 pp.
A detailed survey of the phonology and morphology of some of the oldest French texts. In particulier Lücking considers the *VSA*, the *Serments de Strasbourg*, *Sainte Eulalie*. On pp. 208-214 he discusses the extent of the Norman influence on the language of the MS *L* of the *VSA*.
- G. Paris, *Rom.*, VII (1878), 111-140.

47. Faulde, Oswald, «Ueber Gemination im Altfranzösischen», *ZRP*, IV (1880), 542-570; Faulde, Oswald, «Uber Gemination im Altfranzösischen», (Inaug. Diss.), Breslau, Köhler, 1881, 33 pp.
A careful study of the doubling of consonants in Latin and OF.
- G. Paris, *Rom.*, X (1881), 304.

48. Varnhagen, Hermann, «Das altnormannische C. 1. Das C im Oxforder Psalter», *ZRP*, IV (1880), 161-177.
Contains a few references to *c* in the *VSA*.
- J. Cornu, *Rom.*, X (1881), 401-402.

49. Buhle, Wilhelm, *Das C im Lambspringer Alexius. Oxforder Roland und Londoner Brandan*, (*Diss*) Greifswald: Abel, 1881, 56 pp.
The chapter on *c* in the *VSA* MS *L* is on pp. 18-27. Buhle distinguishes carefully between the various ways in which the scribe represented Latin *c* before *a*, namely: *c*, *ċ*, *ch*.

50. Gengnagel Karl, *Die Kürzung der Pronomina inter vocalischen Auslaut im Altfranzösischen*, Halle: Schneider, 1882, 32 pp.
Gengnagel gives tabulated examples of the phenomenon found in 32 texts from *Ste. Eulalie* to Froissart. He notes that the last OF text in which we find «Verkürzung» after unstressed *e* is the *VSA* in «En terrel metent» 588, where *terrel = terre le*.
- Anon., *Rom.*, II (1882), 464.

51. Köritz, Wilhelm, *Ueber das S vor Consonant im Französischen*, Strasbourg: E Bauer, 1885, viii + 135 pp.

A careful and very exhaustive study of the various pronunciations of *s* before a consonant in OF, based on some 30 works in prose and verse, including the *VSA*.

- G. Paris, *Rom.*, XV (1886), 614-623.

52. Körting, Gustav, *Der Formenbau des französischen Verbums, in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, (*Formenlehre d. frz. Sprache*, Bd. I), Paderborn: Schöningh, 1893, lvi + 378 pp.
A systematic history of the evolution of the French verb forms from their Latin originals.
- E. Bouillon, *Rom.*, XXIII (1894), 305.

53. Cratz, Joseph, *Die Nebensätze im Hildesheimer Alexiuslied. Ein Beitrag zur altfranzösischen Syntax.* (Diss.), Kiel: P. Peters, 1902, 60 pp.
A careful and detailed but rather dull study.

54. Gröber, Gustav, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, II. Band I. Abteilung*, Strasbourg: K.J. Trübner, 1902, vi + 128 pp.
There are useful references to the *VSA* on pp. 15, 30, 49, 54, 58, 76, 443, 480, 644, 931, 1212.
- P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXI (1902), 469.

55. Suchier, Hermann, *Les voyelles toniques du vieux français, langue littéraire*, (*Normandie et Ile-de-France*). *Traduction de l'allemand augmentée d'un index et d'un lexique par Ch. Guerlin de Guer*, Paris: Champion, 1906, 230 pp.
A clear exposition of the OF vocalic system. Many examples are quoted from the MSS *L* and *A* of the *VSA*.
- A. Thomas, *Rom.*, XXXV (1906), 495-496.

56. Bertoni, Giulio, «Zur Wortgeschichte. 1. a. fr. *musgode*», *ZRP*, XXXI (1907), 715.
An alternative derivation to that suggested by J. Storm, (44). Bertoni is of the opinion that the first syllable of the word comes from *muc* from the verb *mucier*, to hide, — cf. OF *muce* = cachette.

57. Foerster, Wendelin, «Etymologien. II. Altfr. *musgode*», *ZRP*, XXXII (1908), 445-453.
A further discussion of the origin of the word *musgode*, (44, 56).

58. Voretzsch, Karl, «Offenes O vor Nasal im Alexiusliede», (pp. 837-862), *Mélanges de Philologie Romane et d'Histoire Littéraire offerts*

à Maurice Wilmotte à l'occasion de son 25e anniversaire d'enseignement, t. II, Paris: H. Champion, 1910, 969 pp.

A careful study, based on the *VSA* and with references to the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, which concludes with the interesting sentence (p. 862): «die Normannen sprachen also noch *uo*, als sie 1066 nach England übersetzten».

- F. Rechnitz, *Rom.*, XXXIX (1910), 596.

59. Rechnitz, Franz, «Sur le vers 213 de la 'Vie de Saint Alexis'», *Rom.*, XXXIX (1910), 369-370.

In l.213 «Altra pur altre, mais sun pedre i ancuntret», Rechnitz feels that the *mais* must imply a negation in the first two lines of strophe 43 and alters the line, with the help of *P*, to «N'une ne altre» so that the strophe would mean that Alexis in his wanderings met neither his wife nor his mother but, on the contrary, his father. This is an attractive suggestion, though perhaps a little unnecessarily forced. The meaning of *L* lines 212-213 is surely clear: «He goes through the streets with which he was once well acquainted, one after another...» (*v.* 87).

60. Brandin, Louis, «Vie de St. Alexis, Strophe CXI, 2» *MLR* VI (1911), 98.

Brandin wonders why in l. 551 we have *avogles* and in l. 552 *orbs*, — two words with the same meaning. He feels that it is not likely that a poet of the calibre of the author of the *VSA* would have forgotten by l. 552 what he had written in l. 551 and suggests that the poet wrote in 552 *ne tors*, that an early scribe wrote *netors*, a later scribe wrote *net, ors*, and that the scribe of *L* reduced *net* to *ne* and added to *ors* its etymological *b*. An interesting theory, but probably too ingenious.

61. Foerster, Wendelin. *Sankt Alexius. Beiträge zur Textkritik des ältesten französischen Gedichts*, Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1915. 169 pp.

Because of a number of inconsistencies and contradictions in the *L*, *A*, *P* MSS of the *VSA* and of passages with no equivalent in the Latin *Vita*, Foerster believes that about one fifth of the text should be rejected as unfortunate interpolations. This view is rightly condemned by E.R. Curtius, *ZRP*, LVI (1936), 134. (*v.* 91)

62. Jeanroy, Alfred, «'Ne garder l'eure.' Histoire d'une locution», *Rom.*, XLIV (1915-1917), 586-594.

The expression «ne guarder l'ure» = «s'attendre à» is very common indeed in OF texts and occurs in the *VSA* in l. 305 «Ne guardent l'ure que terre nes enclodet» = «ils attendent à tout moment que la terre

les engloutisse.» Jeanroy traces the change in meaning of the phrase from an indication of something to be feared and avoided to something to which one can look forward with equanimity or even pleasure, as when Pathelin says with satisfaction that the draper will soon come and fall into his trap, «Il viendra, nous gardons l'eure».

According to Tobler-Lommatsch the earliest use of the expression is in the *VSA*.

63. Stimming, Albert, «Ueber Haplologie im Französischen», *ZRP*, XXXIX (1919), 641-671.

A careful and well-arranged summary of the various conditions under which haplology occurs in both Old French and Modern French.

64. Kolovrat, Georges de, *Etude sur la vocalisation de la consonne L dans les langues romanes*, Paris: Jouve, 1923, 306 pp. *Supplément*, Nice: Imprimerie Idéale, 1923, 69 pp.

An interesting, well-documented study. Kolovrat concludes that «le point de départ de la vocalisation de la consonne *l* dans les langues romanes est la prononciation dure du son *l* en latin lorsqu'il était en fin de syllabe».

- M. Roques, *Rom.*, XLIX (1923), 475-476.

65. Beaulieux, Charles, *Histoire de l'Orthographe française*, t. I, *Formation de l'Orthographe des origines au milieu du XVI^e siècle*, xx + 367 pp.; t. II, *Les Accents et autres Signes auxiliaires*, x + 134 pp., Paris: Champion, 1927.

An excellent work; very detailed and very interesting. There is unfortunately no index.

- 1. L. Brandin, *MLR*, XXIII (1928), 499-500.
- 2. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LIV (1928), 617-618.

66. Sjögren, Albert, «Sur un passage de la Vie de saint Alexis», *Neuphil.*, XXX (1929), 20-22.

The passage in question is str. 115 and Sjögren is particularly interested in the verb *habiter* 575 which G. Paris surprisingly translated as «vivre, séjourner». The verb is *abiter*, «toucher à, s'approcher de» with an *h* added by a scribe with a mistaken view of the etymology of the word which has nothing to do with *habitare* but comes, as does the Norman *biter* «toucher», from a Norse verb. Cf. Remy, (80).

67. Fouché, Pierre, *Le Verbe français*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres (Publication de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg) 1931, 1967, 441 pp.

A valuable and astonishingly complete study of the French verb and its evolution. Anglo-Norman and other dialectal peculiarities are noted. There is a complete index (14 pp.) of all verbs cited in the text.

- 1. G. Rohlfs, *Archiv*, CLX (1931), 316.
- 2. A. Dauzat, *RLR*, LXVI (1932), 398-401.
- 3. E. Gamillscheg, *ZFSL*, LVI (1932), 106-111.
- 4. J. Damourette, *Rom.*, LIX (1933), 449-453.

68. Spitzer, Leo, «'pape' im altfranzösischen Alexius», *ZRP*, LII (1932), 769.

Spitzer traces the evolution of the OF *pape* from the earlier meanings of the Latin *papa*, «father, bishop» (*papa urbis*) to «pope» (*papa urbis Romae*) which is its sole meaning in the *VSA*.

69. Richter, Elise, «Alexius 95e, Pur felunie nient ne pur lastet», *ZFSL*, LVI (1932), 65-67.

This difficult line is considered by Richter to interpret the bride's second thoughts on the reasons for her abandonment. She had at first thought that sin had taken her husband away from her — «Pechét le m'at tolut» 108, but now she realises that sin did not take him away, «*Nicht* aus Schlechtigkeit hast Du mich verlassen». This reading presumes that one prints a point at the end of l. 474 and that l. 475 is therefore considered as the bride's afterthought on the saint's motives. For further comments on this line see M. Rösler, *Sankt Alexius*, 1928, p. 23 (22), Wilmotte, *Le Moyen Age*, XL (1930), 138-143, (151) and Storey, *VSA*, Oxford, (1968), p. 27 (28).

70. Winkler, Emil, «Studien zum altfranzösischen Alexiusliede», *ZFSL*, LVII (1933), 92-95.

Winkler comments on the articles by E. Richter and H. Adolf in the same number of the *ZFSL* (87).

71. Weerenbeck, Bernard, H.J., Le système vocalique français du XIe siècle d'après les assonances de la «Vie de St. Alexis», *Archives Néerlandaises de phonétique expérimentale*, IX (1933), 252-262.

Weerenbeck endeavours to show that in the vocalic system of the XIth century the vowel-sounds were as precisely differentiated and had the same interrelationship as they have today.

- M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXI (1935), 394.

72. Storey, Christopher, «Consideration of a Difficult Verse in the «Vie de Saint Alexis», *MLR*, XXX (1935), 354-355.

A note on *L* 534 «que avum am bailide» and on *A* 534 «d'altre mune».

73. Wilmotte, Maurice, «Note sur le texte français du Saint Alexis», *Le Moyen Age, 3e série, XI, XL de la collection*, (1940), 44-45.

Wilmotte agrees with Gaston Paris's view that *L* and *A* are the two oldest MSS of the *VSA*. He is of the opinion that the Walloon forms in both *A* and *V* indicate a close relationship between these two MSS.

74. Falk, Paul, «Comment *trans* est devenu la marque du superlatif absolu en français», *Studia Neuphilologica*, XIII (1940-1941), 11-44.

An ingenious and instructive article with several references to the *VSA*. On p. 27 Falk suggests that the *Des* in l. 116 of *L*, corrected to *Si* in my editions (25, 28, 32), is an error for *Tres* and that the line means «L'enfant a complètement changé sa tendre chair». This is an attractive suggestion.

75. Garey, Howard B., *The Historical Development of Tenses from Late Latin to Old French*, Yale Univ. Language Dissertation No. 51 Supplement to *Language*, XXXI, I (Pt. 2), Jan.-March 1955. Baltimore: Linguistic Soc. of America, Waverley Press, 1955, 107 pp.

Chapter III of this study (pp. 46-89) is entitled «Eleventh Century French represented by 'La Vie de Saint Alexis'» and is based on Gaston Paris's *CFMA* text. Garey has interesting comments to make on the poet's rather loose use of past and present tenses, but because of his constant employment of linguistic terms not in general use his meaning is not always clear.

76. Yvon, Henri, «Emploi dans la 'Vie de Saint Alexis' de l'imparfait, du passé simple et du passé composé de l'indicatif», *Rom.*, LXXXI (1960), 244-250.

Yvon holds the view that the poet probably thought in Latin and therefore mixed his tenses in French as he would have done in Latin. There would appear to be no real justification for this theory as most medieval writers used tenses very erratically and they certainly did not all think in Latin, though the loose use of tenses was doubtless inherited from the Latin usage.

77. Zumthor, Paul, *Langue et Techniques poétiques à l'Epoque romane* (XIe-XIIIe siècles), Paris: Klincksieck, 1963, 225 pp.

An interesting approach which includes a consideration of the relationship between everyday language and «literary» language. On p. 76 Zumthor refers to the use of tenses in the *VSA* (Cf. 76).

- F.J. Barnett, *FS*, XIX (1965), 284-285.

78. Harris, Roy, «Gallo-Romance Third Declension Plurals, *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, XXX (1966), 57-70.

Harris discusses and dismisses the widely held theory that the elimination of *s* (<*es*) in OF nominative plurals of the third declension, of which there are seven example in the *VSA*, was due to the influence of 2nd declension plurals in — *i*. He considers that the elimination took place so that a regular paradigm for all Gallo-Romance nouns could emerge.

79. Ruelle, Pierre, «*L'ordre complément direct — sujet — verbe* dans la proposition énonciative indépendante», (pp. 307-322), *Mélanges de Grammaire Française offerts à M. Maurice Grevisse pour le trentième anniversaire du «Bon Usage»*, Gembloux: Duclot, 1966, 380 pp.

A thoughtful study of word-order in OF. There is a reference to the *VSA* on p. 315.

80. Remy, Paul, «La strophe CXV de la Vie de saint Alexis», pp. 735-749, *Actes du XIII^e Congrès international de Linguistique et de Philologie romanes*, t. II. Québec: Université Laval, 1971, 1248 pp.

Remy considers in great detail the meaning of *(h)abiter* in OF and is of the opinion that the meaning of the word in l. 575 of the *VSA* is *toucher à* rather than *s'approcher de*, (*v.* 66). He also mentions that he prefers the G. Paris reading *avisonques* in l. 575 to my reading «C'est avis, unches hom n'i poet habiter» which is a metrically faulty line. However, the reading is that of the scribes of *L* and *V* and occasional faulty metres are far from rare in OF texts.

- J. Monfrin, *Rom.*, XCVIII (1977), 282.

81. Burgess, Glyn, S., «*Talent* in Early Old French (To 1150)», *Rom.*, XCV (1974), 443-466.

An exhaustive study of the varied meanings of *talent* and *maltalent* in OF. The first examples are to be found in the *Passion du Christ* and in the *VSA*. The author discusses the meaning of 70 examples of *talent* and 29 examples of *maltalent*.

CHAPTER 5

Comments on the literary and moral qualities of the Hildesheim version of the Vie de Saint Alexis

With the end of the 19th century and the advent of the 20th century the critics ceased to regard the *VSA* as of purely linguistic interest and began to realise and comment on its very considerable literary and moral qualities.

82. Petit de Julleville, Louis, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises des Origines à 1900. Tome I: Moyen Age, des Origines à 1500*, Paris: Colin, 1896, lxxx + 408 pp.

Petit de Julleville summarises in detail the story of the *VSA* (pp. 1-14) and considers the question of the morality of Alexis's desertion of his wife after, rather than before, the marriage. Alexis, he believes, wants to make certain that, by a double sacrifice, they are reunited eternally in heaven. He is an early Polyeucte! «Je vous aime / Beaucoup moins que mon Dieu, mais bien plus que moi-même ... C'est peu d'aller au ciel; je vous y veux conduire.» (p. 13)

- G. Paris, *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 593-612.

83. Heller, Bernard, «L'épée, symbole et gardien de la chasteté», *Rom.*, XXXVI (1907), 36-49.

On p. 42 Heller refers, somewhat fancifully, to the flight of Alexis from the bridal-chamber as his equivalent to the naked sword which separated Tristan from his beloved Iseut.

84. Tilley, Arthur, (Ed.), *Medieval France*. A Companion to French Studies, Cambridge: CUP, 1922, 456 pp.

Lucien Foulet, in an article on medieval French literature (pp. 283-284), compares the sanctity and heroism of Alexis and Roland. The former reaches heaven by asceticism and renunciation, the latter by the practice of the manly virtues of energy, courage and generosity. Foulet comments that though Roland seems nearer to ourselves,

nevertheless both were admired with equal affection in medieval times as each presented a facet of the same ideal.

85. Winkler, Emil, «Von der Kunst des Alexiusdichters», *ZRP*, XLVII (1927), 588-597.

A sensitive appreciation of the *VSA*. Winkler stresses the descriptive vividness of the poem, but is disturbed by the suffering caused by the saint's actions.

86. Spitzer, Leo, «Erhellung des Polyeucte durch das «Alexiuslied», *Arch. Rom.*, XVI (1932), 473-500.

The value of renunciation under the influence of grace is seen in both the *VSA* and *Polyeucte*. Spitzer quotes many interesting parallel passages, e.g. *VSA* str. 12 and *Polyeucte*, Act 4, scene 3:

> — je ne regarde Pauline
> Que comme un obstacle à mon bien ...
> Je la vois; mais mon cœur d'un saint zèle enflammé,
> N'en goûte plus l'appas dont il était charmé.

87. Richter, Elise; Adolf, Hélène; Winkler, Emil; «Studien zum altfranzösischen Alexiusliede», *ZFSL*, LVII (1933), 80-95.

Interesting but fairly obvious remarks on the rôles of the father, the mother and Alexis, and some comments on the phrases «Al tens Noë» and «Altra pur altre», (Cf. 59).

88. Hürsch, Melitta, «Alexiuslied und christliche Askese», *ZFSL*, LVIII (1934), 414-418.

Hürsch summarises the comments of Winkler (70, 85) and Spitzer (86) on the subject of Christian asceticism in the *VSA* and comes to the conclusion that the asceticism in question is more oriental than Christian.

89. Eis, Gerhardt, «'Alexiuslied' und christliche Askese,» *ZFSL*, LIX (1935), 232-236.

Alexis is here considered as a typical example of medieval Christian asceticism. Eis stresses the fact that not only the saint but also his family are involved in complete renunciation.

90. Scheludko, Dimitry, «Ueber die ersten zwei Strophen des Alexiusliedes», *ZRP*, LV (1935), 194-197.

Scheludko considers that Noah, Abraham and David figure in these two strophes as symbols of the early days of the world, though the

Biblical story hardly bears out the poet's theory that, in those days, «bons fut li secles». The poet doubtless thought back to the Golden Age of the classical writers and assumed that Noah, Abraham and David must have belonged to an age which was not only old, but also golden.

91. Curtius, Ernst R., «Zur Interpretation des Alexiusliedes», *ZRP*, LVI (1936), 113-137.

In this long article Curtius looks at the *VSA* from fourteen points of view; he considers *inter alia* some previous evaluations of the poem, the background to the story, the lamentations, the egoism of the saint's mother, the theme of holy joy, the heavenly reunion, some textual points, the composition of the poem, and so on. The comments on C's article by H. Hatzfeld (94) are more interesting than the article itself.

- E. Winkler, *ZFSL*, LX (1937), 241-242.

92. Gaiffier, Baudouin de, «Source d'un texte relatif au mariage dans la Vie de Saint Alexis, *BHL* 289», *Anal. Boll.*, LXIII (1945), 48-55.

The text in question in the Latin MS is as follows: «Quia ex divino precepto cognovi conjugium michi non esse peccatum sed gratiam, faciam que hortamini.» Gaiffier points out that similar words praising married life in works devoted to the praise of virginity are not unusual in hagiographical literature. They give the author an opportunity to stress the greater virtue and strength of chastity. The text itself, he believes, was derived from the *Passio SS. Juliani et Basilissae*.

93. Gaiffier, Baudouin de, «Intactam sponsam relinquens. A propos de la Vie de Saint Alexis», *Anal. Boll.*, LXV (1947), 157-195.

A summary of the views of a number of critics who have expressed their disapproval of the saint's decision to abandon his wife, (*v.* Winkler 70, 85, Richter 87, Spitzer 86, Hürsch 88, Curtius 91) followed by a consideration of similar situations in more than a score of Latin *Vitae*.

- H. Lausberg, *Archiv*, CXCIII (1957), 347-348.

94. Hatzfeld, Helmut A., «Esthetic criticism applied to Medieval Romance Literature», *Rom. Phil.*, I (1947-1948), 305-327.

Hatzfeld discusses the *Divine Comedy*, *VSA* (pp. 309-310), *Roland*, Ch. de Troyes, Marie de France, G. Rudel, *Flamenca*, Manrique, the

Libro de Buen Amor and Boccaccio. In his consideration of the *VSA* he summarises the views and practices of Winkler (70, 85), Spitzer (86), and Curtius (91). He concludes that the serious student and philologist cannot do without the aesthetic sensitivity of the modern critic when approaching a medieval work of literature. Winkler's aesthetic interpretation of the *VSA* has thus, in his opinion, made the poem more accessible than Curtius's historical commentary, and with this I agree.

95. Pei, Mario A., *French Precursors of the Chanson de Roland*, New York: Columbia University Press, (1948, 1966), xiv + 105 pp.

Pei considers that the *VSA* is the logical forerunner of the epic genre. He describes in some detail, and with numerous quotations, ways in which in his opinion *Eulalie*, *La Passion du Christ*, *St Léger* and the *VSA* may have influenced the authors of the main OF epic poems. One has one's doubts!

- A.G. Hatcher, *MLN*, LXIV (1949), 354-355.

96. Jodogne, Omer, «L'infidélité de saint Alexis», *Les Lettres Romanes*, III, 1 (1949), 146-147.

Jodogne points out that in some Greek and Latin versions the hero's wife knows of his intended departure and approves of it. This knowledge could possibly be implicit in the OF version and Alexis's conduct may therefore be excusable. In any case he gives his bride the wedding ring and his swordbelt, symbol of his chastity, and both are accepted in silence, — a silence which could be interpreted as consent.

97. Hatcher, Anna G., «The OF Alexis poem: a mathematical demonstration», *Traditio*, VIII (1952), 111-158.

After a full and perceptive analysis of the poem and a critical consideration of the theories of Spitzer (86) and Curtius (91) Miss Hachter considers in detail the mathematical symmetries which are an interesting feature of the *VSA*. The poem would appear to be doubly symmetrical: firstly, 2 strophes of introduction plus 8 of preliminaries, plus 56 of narrative are followed by one strophe describing the saint's death, after which 56 more complete the story and the poem ends with 2 strophes of formal conclusion; secondly, the whole story of the saint's life and death is told in 58 strophes followed by 9 strophes of flashback narrative, plus 58 strophes devoted to the aftermath of the death of Alexis. There are further inner symmetries: the life abroad of the saint occupies strophes 16-38 (23 in all), his life at home strophes 44-66 (23), the lamentations after

his death strophes 78-100 (23) and the description of his heavenly reward strophes 101-123 (23). It is impossible to know whether all this is accidental or intentional, but it is very probably intentional and the article is worth careful consideration and is a much more serious contribution to our knowledge of the literary merits of the poem than E.W. Bulatkin's fanciful article on a similar theme (105).

• M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXXV (1954), 143.

98. Delbouille, Maurice, *Sur la Genèse de la «Chanson de Roland» (Travaux récents — Propositions nouvelles)*, *Essai critique*, Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1954, 169 pp.

In the section B. III *Traditions stylistiques* there are interesting references to the possibility of stylistic habits visible in the *VSA* having been transferred to the *Ch. de R.* (pp. 136-153). Cf. M. Pei (95) and see M. D. Legge, «Archaism and the Conquest», *MLR*, LI (1956), 227-229, (37).

99. Legge, M. Dominica. «Les renges de s'espethe», *Rom.*, LXXVII (1956), 88-93.

The problem of the presents given to the bride. See also T. Fotitch (103) and Professor Legge's final word on the subject (127).

100. Lausberg, Heinrich, «Zum altfranzösischen Alexiuslied», *Archiv*, CXCI (1955), 202-213; 285-320, CXCIV (1957), 138-180.

The articles by Lausberg (101, 104) should be read in conjunction with those of H. Sckommodau (41, 102) with which he frequently disagrees, as he does in his 1955 article, pp. 285-320, in which he upholds the superiority of *L*. In his first article, pp. 203-213, L. considers the versification of MS *L* and wonders if the author of the *L* version might have been the inventor of the decasyllabic line in OF. He is attracted, like Bulatkin (105) and Hatcher (97), by numbers and sees the poem as consisting of 5 groups of 25 strophes each, and each in turn divisible into 5 groups of 5 strophes. He holds that this division may mirror a series of pictures on Church walls, in rows of 5, for the benefit of those unable to read. He returns to this theme in his 1959 article in *Archiv*, CXCV, pp. 141-144. (104). L. also suggests that the poem might have been written for a nunnery and that *seignors* 621 might be an error for *serors*. I think that this is highly unlikely, but it is an interesting idea in view of the presence of MS *L* in Christina of Markyate's Psalter (38).

The 1957 article is largely a repetition, with variations, of the 1955 article.

• R. de Cesare, *SF*, II (1958), 466.

101. Lausberg, Heinrich, «Das Proömium (Strophen 1-3) des altfr. Alexiusliedes», *Archiv*, CXCII (1956), 33-58.

A long and excessively detailed commentary on the first three strophes of the *VSA* from the points of view of textual criticism, source criticism and meaning. L. includes a sample of the opening stanzas of a proposed new edition of *L* which never materialised.

102. Sckommodau, Hans, «Alexius in Liturgie, Malerei and Dichtung», *ZRP*, LXXII (1956), 165-194.

Another chapter in the Sckommodau v. Lausberg controversy. S. explains at some length, amongst other matters, his belief that *A* is a better MS than *L* and that the epistle of St. Paul to Timothy may be considered as a possible source for the Prologue. S.'s arguments re. *A* are cogent, but they do not convince me. As for I Timothy VI, 6-12, I cannot see any very convincing reason for regarding it as having influenced the writer of the Prologue.

- 1. R. de Cesare *SF*, I (1957), 465-466.
- 2. H. Lausberg, *Archiv*, CXCIII (1957), 347. In this review L. repeats his intention (101) of producing a new edition of the *VSA* based on *L*. So far (1986) this has not appeared.

103. Fotitch, Tatiana, «The mystery of 'Les renges de s'espethe', *Vie de Saint Alexis*, 15b». *Rom.*, LXXIX (1958), 495-507.

A study of the change in meaning of *renda* which occurs in the phrase in the *Vita* «rendam, id est caput baltei». *Renda* originally meant *income* or *rent* and came to mean *belt*. Miss F. holds that in the original story no gift was left with the bride.

- S. Cigada, *SF*, III (1959), 286.

104. Lausberg, Heinrich, «Kann dem altfranzösischen Alexiuslied ein Bilderzyklus zugrunde liegen?» *Archiv*, CXCV (1959), 141-144.

An elaboration of the theory of a picture-cycle first mentioned by Lausberg in 1955 (100).

105. Bulatkin, Eleanor W., «The Arithmetical Structure of the OF 'Vie de St. Alexis'», *PMLA*, LXXIV (1959), 495-502.

An amusing but quite preposterous study of the variations on the number 17 to be discerned in the *VSA*. One example will suffice: Alexis served for twice 17 years his Lord who probably died at the age of 34; the saint is first described in stanza 34 and l. 170 as *L'ume Deu*; his soul leaves his body and returns to his Lord in l. 334 *a sun seinur*, which brings the reader to syllable 3334 which, according to

B. is the medieval equivalent of 3333. 3333... *ad infinitum*!

- S. Cigada, *SF*, V (1961), 121.

106. Pächt, Otto; Dodwell, Charles R; Wormald, Francis, *The St. Albans Psalter*, London: The Warburg Institute, (1960), 294 pp; frontispiece in colour + 174 plates.

In this masterly study of the Psalter presented to Christina of Markyate, in which is incorporated the Hildesheim MS of the *VSA*, F. Wormald describes in detail the St. Albans MS as well as the Calendar and the Litany, (pp. 3-45).

O. Pächt studies the full-page miniatures (pp. 49-177), considers the possible reasons for the presence of the *Alexis* MS in the Psalter and produces the interesting theory that the MS *L* may have been the first French version of the story of St. Alexis and not, as G. Paris held, (14) a copy of an earlier French original, (pp. 181-272). C.R. Dodwell considers the Initials of the MS in detail (Ch. XII, XIII, XIV) and has a note on the date of the Psalter (pp. 278-280): since Roger the hermit, Christina's protector, died in 1121 or 1122, and since the entry on the MS of his *obit* is dated 12th September 1123 and in a hand different from that of the main hand, the MS must presumably have been written before 1123. D. tentatively suggests that the author of the *L* version may have been Geoffrey de Gorran (Gorham) who was Abbot of St Albans in 1119.

- 1. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXXXI (1960), 560.
- 2. M.D. Legge, *Med. Aev.*, XXX (1961), 113-117.

107. Goosse, André, «La Vie de St. Alexis», *Les Lettres Romanes*, XIV (1960), 62-65.

This is a very useful summary of the various articles by Lausberg (100, 101, 104) and Sckommodau (41, 102).

108. Belasco, Simon, «The Rôle of Transformation Grammar and Tagmemics in the Analysis of an Old French Text», *Lingua*, X (1961), 375-390.

As this comparison of the *L* text of the *VSA* with Canon Meunier's translation into a slightly archaic modern French (24) seems to me unusually uninteresting, I content myself with quoting a phrase from the mention of Belasco's article in the *YWMLS*, XXIV (1962), 21: «Belasco applies Chomsky's procedures to the OF St. Alexis text and finds that diachronic comparison is less complex if tagmemic procedures are incorporated.» A bon entendeur, salut!

109. Coppin, Joseph, *Amour et Mariage dans la littérature française du Nord au Moyen Age*, Paris: Librairie d'Argences (*Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*), 1961, 174 pp.

Arranged marriages are discussed in Chapter I and there is a reference to the relevance of the verb *acheter* in the case of the bride of Alexis (pp. 9-10).

- R. de Cesare, *SF*, VI (1962), 122-123.

110. Györy, Jean, «Hagiographie hétérodoxe», *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XI (1962), 375-390.

A very good article with many original insights. On p. 376 there is an interesting comparison with Roland: «le rôle d'Alexis, son orgueil, son insensibilité et sa démesure seront continués par Roland, idée suprême de la poésie romane.» A's heterodoxy lies principally in his hatred of marriage of which the Church obviously approved. Györy sees in the attitude of the crowd after the death of Alexis signs of the — in my opinion — mythical «peur de l'an mil». There are interesting references to the articles of Sckommodau and Winkler, (41, 102; 70, 85). In the second half of the article Györy deals with the differences between the *VSA* and the «*Sainte-Foy* provençale».

111. Vincent, Patrick R., «The Dramatic Aspect of the Old French 'Vie de St. Alexis'», *SP*, LX (1963), 525-541.

A thoughtful and well-written study. Vincent discusses, *inter alia*, the role of Alexis as *imitatio Christi* and that of the family as eventual sharers in the heavenly bliss of the saint. He notes that more stanzas are allotted to the family (57) than to Alexis (33).

- R. de Cesare, *SF* VIII (1964), 315.

112. Pauphilet, Albert, «La Vie de St. Alexis», (pp. 667-668) *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises*, I: *Le Moyen Age*, Paris: Fayard, 1964, 766 pp.

An appreciative and thoughtful article.

113. Waltz, Matthias, «Rolandslied, Wilhelmslied, Alexiuslied. Zur Struktur und geschichtlichen Bedeutung», *Studia Romanica*, IX, Heidelberg: Winter, 1965, 207 pp.

A comparison based on Hegel's theory of history. In his pages on the *VSA* (176-203) Waltz stresses his opinion that the real interest of the poem lies in the emotional reaction to the saint's life of the other characters in the story.

- 1. A. Burger, *Med. Aev.*, XXXV (1966), 240-248.

- 2. F. Whitehead, *FS*, XX (1966), 388-389.
- 3. H. Sckommodau, *Archiv*, CCIV (1968), 148-150.
- 4. C. Segre, *ZRP*, LXXXVI (1971), 414-419.

114. Sprissler, Manfred. *Das rhythmische Gedicht «Pater Deus Ingenite» (11. Jh.) und das altfranzösische Alexiuslied*, (*Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie herausgegeben von Heinrich Lausberg*, Heft XVIII, Münster in Westphalia: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966, 178 pp.

An account of the relationship between the Latin poem and the French text. In the opinion of Sprissler the Latin poem was one of a number of sources of the OF version. (cf. 41, 133).

- 1. K. Langosch, *Mitt. Lat. Jhb.*, IV (1967), 280-282.
- 2. P. Rickard, *Med. Aev.*, XXXVI (1967), 177-179.
- 3. K. Uitti, *Rom. Phil.*, XXIV (1970), 130-133.

115. Tyssens, Madeleine, «Le Prologue de la Vie de saint Alexis dans le manuscrit de Hildesheim», *Studi in Onore di Italo Siciliano*, Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1966, 1238 pp.

In her well reasoned article on pp. 1165-1177 the author expresses the opinion that the prologue was the work of the scribe and not that of the poet. It was usual for prologues of this kind to be written by the scribe as a *boniment de présentateur* in which the matter of the poem was briefly summarised. Mlle. T. also comments, at some length, on Hofman's note on the supposed «assonances» in the Prologue (13).

116. Uitti, Karl D., «The Old French 'Vie de Saint Alexis': Paradigm, Legend, Meaning», *Rom. Phil.*, XX (1966-1967), 263-295.

Uitti considers the various editions of the *VSA*, the theme of asceticism, the saint's desire for an eternal reunion with his bride by virtue of their double sacrifice and, most interestingly, the poet's use of tense changes and of personal remarks breaking into the narrative, *e.g.* l. 610.

117. Gierden, Karlheinz, *Das altfranzösische Alexiuslied der Handschrift L. Eine Interpretation unter dem Gesichtspunkt von Trauer und Freude*. (*Untersuchungen zur romanischen Philologie, Band I*), Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1967, 181 pp.

This study is an extended and very detailed *lecture expliquée* of the *VSA* with reference to the themes of grief and joy. In the first half of the book the author comments on the various expressions of grief of the father, the mother, the bride, the crowd and the relatives, and

compares them with similar expressions of sorrow in other medieval poems and in biblical and classical writings; (Cf. J. Frappier, 324 and D.D. Berkvam 326). The second half of Gierden's study consists of a similar consideration of the joy of Alexis, the pope and the people.

A painstaking but unoriginal book.

1. H. Braet, *Studi Francesi*, XII (1968), 325.
- 2. M. Sprissler, *ZRP*, LXXXV (1969), 270-274.
- 3. C. Storey, *FS*, XXIII (1969), 275-276.

118. Baehr, Rudolph, «Das Alexiuslied als Vortragsdichtung», (pp. 175-199), *Serta Romanica. Festschrift für Gerhard Rohlfs zum 75. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968, viii + 330 pp.

The articles of Curtius, Lausberg, Sckommodau, Sprissler, Pächt are all considered in detail. Baehr sides with Pächt and Sprissler in believing that the writer of the *VSA* was influenced by the Latin poem *Pater deus ingenite*. He considers the poet and his possible public and comments on various stylistic features of the narrative.

119. Uitti, Karl D., «Chrétien de Troie's 'Yvain': Fiction and Sense», *Rom. Phil.*, XXII (1969), 471-483.

A study of the way in which readers and hearers already acquainted with *Roland* and the *VSA* might have appreciated *Yvain*. Uitti stresses the «good old days» theme in both *Yvain* and the *VSA*. In his opinion *Yvain* differs from the other two poems in the fact that it is a concluded story, whereas in *Roland* Charlemagne is called to new duties and in the *VSA* Alexis is in heaven to plead for us in answer to our prayers.

120. Lonigan, Paul R., «Noah, Abraham, David and Alexis», *Ro. No.*, XI (1970), 647-649.

A study of the relevance of the three OT characters to the story of Alexis. The first three were all chosen by God, — Abraham as father of the chosen people, Noah as the second father of the human race, David as the ancestor of the Messiah. Alexis too was chosen and, as with Christ, his kingdom was not of this world. As Abraham left his father's family, as Noah separated himself from his contemporaries, as David fled from Saul, so too did Alexis leave all in his search for the heavenly kingdom. An interesting article but too much is being read into the flight motif, especially in the case of David.

121. Robertson, Howard S., «*La Vie de Saint Alexis*: Meaning and Manuscrit A», *SP*, LXVII (1970), 419-438.

The author discusses three points: Alexis as *imitator Christi*, the reaction of the other characters in the *VSA* to Alexis, and the MS *A* version which he considers, as does Sckommodau, (102) to be a cohesive, and possibly original version of the story of Alexis. Strophes 1-110 (*L* and *A*) present a complete story while, in his opinion, strophes 111-125 of *L*, which are not in *A*, add nothing of importance to the poem and are merely a conventional hagiographic decoration. This could be so, but the «decoration» has considerable literary value and is not merely a conventional ending to the poem.

122. Uitti, Karl D., «Recent Alexis studies from Germany», *Rom. Phil.*, XXIV (1970), 128-137.

The studies in question, which are considered in some detail, are those of Sprissler (114), Kriele (159) and Gierden (117).

123. Atkinson, James C., «From 'Vita' to 'Vie': the OF Saint Alexis», *Ro. No.*, XII (1970), 650-655.

A study of the poet's use of three-fold descriptions and of the relating of his narrative in sequences of three. Atkinson stresses the fact that over one half of the cases of three-fold multiplication in *L* occur also in the *Vita*. It should be remembered, however, that the use of triplet sequences was a common literary device in 11th and 12th century verse.

124. Ryding, William W., *Structure in Medieval Narrative*, The Hague: Mouton, 1971, 177 pp.

In this interesting, scholarly and well-written study the author considers in considerable detail «the narrative practices prevailing in OF literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ... from the *VSA* to the Arthurian Vulgate». He stresses the point that the basic structural pattern of the medieval story was bipartite. There are pertinent references to the *VSA* on pp. 5, 25, 32, 37, 63, 69-70, 72, 79-81, 92-96, 118-124, 126, 130, 162.

125. Stebbins, Charles E., «The 'humanity' of Saint Alexis in the Separation Scene of the 13th Century Old French Poem (Paris, MS 2162, Bibl. nat.) of the Vie de saint Alexis», *RBPH*, XLIX (1971), 862-865.

Here, as elsewhere, (*v.* 161 p. 73 n. 8) Stebbins stresses his belief that the saint's abandonment of bride and home was in obedience to God's will and in no wise a display of heartlessness. He comments on the way in which the 13th century poet has used his sources, and, in his opinion, improved upon the Latin *Vita*.

- L. Dulac, *SF*, XVIII (1974), 129.

126. Gnädinger, Louise, *Eremitica. Studien zur altfranzösischen Heiligenvita des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen: Niemeyer. *Beihefte zur ZRP*, Heft CXXX, 1972, viii + 438 pp.

In this rather dull study Gnädinger considers the *VSA* and the lives of certain imitators of the saint in life and fiction; *e.g.* the *Vie de Saint Gile*, and the *Vie de saint Jehan Bouche d'or*. The theme which links together these various narratives is the length of time spent by each saint in solitary meditation.

- 1. M. Bambeck, *ZRP*, XC (1974), 306-312.
- 2. M.D. Legge, *Med. Aev.*, XLIII (1974) 61-63.
- 3. A. Vauchez, *Studi Medievali*, XV, 2 (1974), 918-920.
- 4. W. Rothwell, *FS*, XXXII (1978), 57-58 — thinks, rightly, that Gnädinger reads improbable meanings and allusions into a simple, popular tale.

127. Legge, M. Dominica, «Caput Baltei», *Studies in Honor of Tatiana Fotitch*, Washington D. C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1972, 370 pp.

Professor Legge returns here (pp. 75-78) to the consideration of *les renges de s'espethe* which she (99) and Dr. Fotitch (103) had already discussed in print. This article is an interesting elucidation of the last words of the phrase in the *Vita*, «deinde tradidit ei annulum suum aureum et rendam, id est caput baltei». As one can see from the miniature at the beginning of *L*, *caput baltei* is the long end of the sword-belt (*v.* frontispiece to 28).

128. Tintignac, Claude, *Le thème du renoncement dans la «Vie de saint Alexis» et sa permanence dans les lettres françaises*, Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1973, 80 pp.

This *thèse de maîtrise* (Univ. Tours) published privately by the Author's mother after her daughter's tragic death in a traffic accident, is an interesting and touching young person's study of the various aspects of renunciation in the life of the saint, followed by her views on the possible influence of the *VSA* on later writers, including Corneille (*Polyeucte*), Claudel, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Henri Ghéon, André Gide (*La porte étroite*: «Alissa = Alis = Alexis»; as Gide said to René Louis in 1933).

129. Maddox, Donald L., «Pilgrimage, Narrative and Meaning in the 'Vie de St Alexis'», *Rom. Phil.*, XXVII (1973), 143-157.

An unnecessarily long summary of the articles on the *VSA* by Sckommodau (41, 102), Lausberg (100, 101) and Uitti (116, 119, 122) with especial reference to the problem of the truncated version of MS *A* and the theory of its possible relationship to a surmised lost mid-eleventh century OF version of the Alexis story.

130. Uitti, Karl D., *Story, Myth and Celebration in Old French Narrative Poetry 1050-1200*, Princeton: Univ. Press, 1973, ix + 256 pp.

A wordy examination of the relationship of narrative technique to matter in the *VSA*, *Roland* and Chrétien de Troyes.

- 1. M. Engel, *SF*, XX (1976), 120.
- 2. T. Hunt, *Med. Aev.*, XLV (1976), 217-219.
- 3. E. von Richthofen, *Speculum*, LI, No. 2 (1976), 362-363.
- 4. W.G. van Emden, *FS*, XXXII (1978), 179-180.
- 5. J. Rychner, *Cahiers*, XXI (1978), 82-85.
- 6. I. Short, *Rom. Phil.*, XXXII (1978), 188-193.

131. Batany, Jean, «Home and Rome, a device in epic and romance: 'Le Couronnement de Louis' and 'Ille et Galeran'», *YFS*, LI (1974), 42-60.

Batany is of the opinion that the narrative pattern of the story of *I. et G.* is based on that of the *C. de L.* and that both owe something to the *VSA*. The «device» which he discusses is the pattern «Rome, home, Rome, HOME (= heaven)» in the *VSA* and «Home, Rome, Home, Rome» in the *C. de L.* and *I. et G.* This article, turgidly translated by Joel H. Reader (and probably equally turgid in its original French) is not very illuminating. Here is a sample sentence: «The simple repetition, the twice without a thrice, is a sort of *cas limite* which may evolve toward the initiation of a seriality, or may make apparent a new structuration which distorts the repetitive aspect.»

132. Carr, Gerald F., «On the 'Vie de St. Alexis'», *Ro. No.*, XVII (1976), 204-207.

A discussion of the use of *danz Alexis* to describe the saint during his lifetime and of *sainz Alexis* after his death in the MSS *A, L, V*. The single divergent use of *danz Alexis* in *L, V* strophe 114c after the death of the saint, appears to Carr to prove the theory (*v.* 102, 121) that strophes 111-125 of *L, V* are an addition to what he considers to be an otherwise complete poem given by *A*.

133. Rychner, Jean, «*La Vie de saint Alexis* et le poème latin *Pater Deus ingenite*», *Vox Romanica*, XXXVI (1977), 67-83.

Rychner disagrees with M. Sprissler's view that the *VSA* was based on the Latin poem (*v.* 114); he holds, convincingly in my opinion, that the Latin poem is an abridged adaptation of the *VSA*. In the *Pater Deus* there is no narrative detail which is not in both the *VSA* and the Latin *Vita* whereas there are details which are in the *VSA* but not in the *Vita*. In addition, from the point of view of textual criticism according to the methods of Dom Quentin, the *VSA* comes between the *Vita* and the *Pater Deus*. In the *YWMLS*, XL (1978), 16, A.K. Bate states, mistakenly, that Rychner holds that the *VSA* and the *Pater Deus* are two independent reworkings of the *Vita*. In the same Volume, p. 58, G.S. Burgess also reviews Rychner's article and gets the matter right.

134. McCullock, Florence, «Saint Euphrosine, Saint Alexis and the Turtledove», *Rom.*, XCVIII (1977), 168-185.

The author points out that stories of St Alexis and St Euphrosine diverge from their respective Latin *Vitae* in virtually the same way and that the writers of both poems use the turtledove image in a similar fashion. She wonders, for no convincing reason, if the author of the life of St Euphrosine may have been a woman.

135. Storey, Christopher, «'La Vie de Sainte Euphrosine' — a reminder of a neglected thirteenth-century poem», *FS*, XXXI (1977), 385-393.

Not only a reminder of the *Vie* but also a close comparison between the 13th century life of St Euphrosine and the 12th century version (*L*) of the *VSA*. The former obviously owes a great deal to the latter. It is interesting to note that a 13th century version of the *VSA* is in the same MS (Oxford Bodl. Canon. Misc. 74) as the *Vie de Ste Euphrosine* which, like the *VSA*, deals with the life of a saint who did not wish to embrace the married state.

By a strange coincidence the MSS of this and the preceding article must have reached their respective editors at about the same time.

136. Mölk, Ulrich, «'La Chanson de saint Alexis' et le culte du saint en France aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles», *Cahiers*, XXI (1978), 339-355.

An interesting, though discursive, article. Mölk makes the point that the *VSA* was sung in the last quarter of the 12th century on dates other than the saint's day (17th July) and in places other than the church; that as early as the beginning of the 12th century two versions of the *VSA* were current, namely the shorter version represented by the MS *A* and the longer version represented by *L*; and that the *VSA* is, in his confident opinion, an adaptation of the *Pater deus ingenite* poem. (but cf. 41, 114, 118, 133).

137. Perrot, Jean-Pierre, «Le Cœur dur d'un saint: un motif hagiographique à propos de la 'Vie de Saint Alexis'», *Rom.*, XCIX (1978), 238-246.

Perrot considers the significance of the line «Filz Alexis, mult oüs dur corage». Though the motif of the *cœur dur* does not occur in the Latin *Vita*, it is not an invention of the poet of the *L* version of the *VSA*. The motif is common to the whole tradition of saints' lives and is linked with the almost inevitable scenes of lamentation which occur in the Latin versions and which are elaborated in the French versions. There are notable examples in the *Vie de Sainte Anastasie* and the *Vie de Saint Sébastien*. Towards the end of his article Perrot surprisingly contradicts his earlier statements by declaring, without producing any evidence, that despite the tradition, the author of the *VSA* used the *cœur dur* theme spontaneously.

138. Vitz, Evelyn B., «'La Vie de Saint Alexis': narrative analysis and the quest for the sacred subject», *PMLA*, XCIII (1978), 396-408.

The author states that the two purposes of this study are to present a narrative analysis of the 11th century text of the *VSA* and to «envelop that analysis with a theoretical reflection on the concept of the Subject-Objet relation in narrative». The first aim is clearly achieved. The second becomes nothing more than a stressing of the obvious: Alexis, we are told, is the subject, God the object of his desires; but God is also the subject, the determinator of all the actions of the narrative; Alexis's family are subjects too because of their influence on Alexis, and the readers or hearers are also subjects, for without them the poem would have no reason to exist.

CHAPTER 6

Editions of and comments on later versions in French of the «Vie de Saint Alexis»

The later versions of the *VSA*, interesting though they undoubtedly are, err on the side of prolixity and moral sermonizing. The writers seem to have been unwilling to follow the example of succinct and beautifully phrased narration set by the author of the Hildesheim version.

139. Paris, Gaston et Pannier, Léopold, *La Vie de St Alexis*, Paris: 1872, (For all details *v.* 14).

In part IV of this excellent work L. Pannier edits for the first time the 14th century version in 196 rhyming quatrains, known as *Q*. Pannier mentions seven MSS of this version of the *VSA* of which four are in the BN. The best of the seven versions is BN fonds fr. 1555. Seven strophes are missing, viz: 64, 149, 150, 151, 162, 177, 180. The other MSS are as follows: BN 1661, BN 1881, BN 15217; Bibliothèque de Besançon (no. not known to Pannier); Bibliothèque d'Arras, 766; 15th century MS owned by Pannier. (For details of an eighth MS not known to Pannier, *v.* 145). In a foreword to Part IV (p. 330) G. Paris says that the *Q* version is «à coup sûr la plus mauvaise, comme il arrive presque nécessairement. Elle est surtout remarquable par son extrême platitude».

140. G. Paris, «*La Vie de Saint Alexi* en vers octosyllabiques», *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 163-180.

A summary history of the legend followed by the text of an early 13th century *VSA* in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, BN fonds fr. 25408. This poem of 964 lines is inferior to *L*, but is not without merit. The poet frequently elaborates skilfully his Latin original and, according to Paris, gives one of the most attractive versions of the conversation between Alexis and his bride on their wedding-night before he leaves her with one gift only, a golden ring, (ll. 161-284).

- R. Köhler, *ZRP*, III (1879), 309-310.

141. Herz, Joseph, «*De Saint Alexis*», *eine altfranzösische Alexiuslegende aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, Abdruck aus dem Programme der Realschule der israelitischen Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt: J. Wohlfarth, 1879, xvi + 22 pp.

Herz prints the text of *P* (BN fonds fr. 2162) with emendations based on *O* (Oxford, Bodl., Canonici misc. 74). The emendations are inserted in a rather unfortunate attempt to improve the grammar, the metre and the clarity of the text.

- 1. G. Koerting, *ZRP*, IV (1880), 175-178.
- 2. G. Paris, *Rom.*, IX (1880), 151-152.
- 3. R. Reinsch, *Archiv*, LXIV (1880), 207-208.
- 4. H. Schneegans, *MLN*, III (1888), n. 495, pp. 248-250.

142. Paris, Gaston et Robert, Ulysse, *Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages*, *SATF*, VII, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1883, 370 pp.

Le Miracle de Notre Dame de Saint Alexis (pp. 279-370) is the 40th of the 14th century miracles of Our Lady in the Cangé MS. There are 2659 lines and 36 characters including Our Lady who intervenes twice in the saint's life. (*v.* 158).

143. Paris, Gaston, «Un second manuscrit de la rédaction rimée (*M*) de la 'Vie de Saint Alexis'», *Rom.*, XVII (1888), 106-120.

The «second manuscrit» in question is the so-called Carlisle MS of which Paris prints the first 49 and the last 34 lines, together with a list of variants from the Paris MS *M* (BN fonds fr. 1553). The latter MS is referred to here, and elsewhere hereafter, as *Ma*; and the Carlisle MS then becomes *Mb*, (*v.* 150).

144. Keidel, George C., *An Old French Prose Version of La Vie de Saint Alexis. Now published for the first time by G. C. K.*, Baltimore: Friedenwald, 1896, 7 pp.

After a brief Introduction in which he summarises the life of the saint, Keidel prints the text of the short prose version to be found in the BN MS fonds fr. 1534 fol. 49c-50b. Contractions are resolved, otherwise there are no changes to the text. There are no notes and no glossary. The MS title is *Saint Aleux*. In this version no gift is given to the deserted bride.

145. Meyer, Paul, «Notice du MS 10295-304 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (légendes en prose et en vers)», *Rom.*, XXX (1901), 295-315.

Meyer mentions on p. 300 of his article that on fol. 34v of the

Belgian MS there begins «Le (*sic*) vie saint Alexis» with the line: «Ens en l'onneur de Dieu le pere tout poissant.» This poem is a copy of the 14th century rhymed version given in G. Paris and L. Pannier, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, 1872, pp. 346-388, (14, 139).

146. Meyer, Paul, «Légendes hagiographiques en français» *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXIII, (1906), Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, pp. 337-338.

On the above-mentioned pages Meyer gives a list of some of the versions of the *VSA* published before 1906.

- A. Långfors, *Rom.*, XXXVI (1907), 471-472.

147. Lutsch, Erich, *Die altfranzösische Prosaversion der Alexiuslegende. Kritisch herausgegeben mit Einleitung von E. Lutsch*, Berlin: R. Trenkel, 1913, 94 pp.

There are nine MSS of this version of the *VSA* of which Lutsch was able to use eight. He prints, without alteration, the BL MS Royal 20. D. VI and gives the variants of the remaining seven MSS. He was of the opinion that the prose *VSA* was first written down in the second half of the 12th century.

- M. Roques, *Rom.*, XLV (1918-1919), 608.

148. Andresen, Hugo, «Zu den späteren Bearbeitungen der Alexiuslegende», *ZFSL*, XLII, (1914), 82-86.

Andresen comments on points of language and versification of the following versions of the *VSA*: the 12th century MS *S*, the 13th century rhymed version, the 14th century rhymed alexandrine version, the octosyllabic version and the Herz 1879 edition of *P*, (141).

149. Fawtier, Robert et Fawtier-Jones, E.C., «Fragment de la Vie de Saint Alexis contenu dans le ms. French 6 de la John Rylands Library à Manchester», *Rom.*, XLIX (1923), 321-342.

The fragment consists of the first 34 strophes of the *VSA* and the first two lines of the 35th. The text varies only slightly from that of *P* (BN. fonds fr. 19525) and is now referred to as *P2*.

150. Fawtier, Robert et Fawtier-Jones, E.C., «Notes sur un légendier français conservé dans la bibliothèque du chapitre de Carlisle», *Rom.*, *L* (1924), 100-110.

A detailed description of the Carlisle MS which contains the rhymed version of the *VSA* known as Mb.

151. Rajna, Pio, «Un nuovo testo parziale del 'San Alessio' primitivo», *Arch. Rom.*, XIII (1929), 1-86.

This is the first publication of the MS *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5334, f. 125 now referred to as *V*. The MS, discovered in 1925 by Mgr. Mercati, Keeper of the Vatican Library, begins at l. 425 and finishes at l. 625 omitting lines 450, 452, 603, and with an additional line at the end of strophe 106. The peculiarities of the scribe's spelling and the presence of accents inclined Rajna to the opinion that the MS was written between 1140 and 1160. My 1934 edition (25) was the first to take into account the variants of *V*.

- M. Willmotte, *Le Moyen Age*, XL (1930), 138-143. It is in this review that W. makes his helpful suggestion about l. 475 (*v.* 69), namely that a point is needed at the end of l. 473 and that ll. 474-475 would then read «If you had returned to console your wife it would not have been because of disloyalty or weakness».

152. Hahnel, Kurt, *Sprachliche Untersuchung zur Alexius — Handschrift «V»*, (Diss. Jena), Coburg: Rossteutscher, 1934, 66 pp.

This is a detailed study of the phonology and morphology of *V*. Hahnel is of the opinion that *V* is written in the Southern or South-Western Walloon dialect, (cf. 156).

153. Morawski, Joseph «Les miracles en quatrains alexandrins monorimes» *Rom.*, LXV (1939), 327-358.

Morawski takes up the point made by G. Paris in his 1872 edition of the *VSA* (14 p. 329) that most of the medieval French poems in mono-rhyming alexandrine quatrains resemble in tone and style the *VSA* version in that form and metre. Morawski wonders whether Jean de Saint-Quentin may have been the author of the lives in the quatrain form of St Alexis, St Dieudonnée and St Gregory and of some of the *Dits de la Vierge*.

154. Walberg, Emmanuel, F.G., *Le Tombel de Chartrose. Contes Pieux en vers du XIV^e siècle tirés du recueil intitulé «Le Tombel de Chartrose». Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistika Velenskapssamfundet*, 1 Lund, XLII, Lund: Gleerup, 1946, xlix + 181 pp.

Walberg publishes in this selection the 18th «conte pieux», *De saint Alexis, qui fut XVII ans chiex son pere comme povre.* (pp. 77-105). The poem is written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets and has 992 lines. This 14th century version is in MS 244, Bibliothèque d'Avranches, (*v.* also 161). There are notes and a glossary.

155. Heinermann, Hildegard. *Das altfranzösische Alexiuslied der Handschrift 1247 der Bibl. Nat. in Paris (cod. S). Neuedition des Textes mit Quellen und formkritischen Untersuchungen*, (Diss.), Münster in Westphalia: M. Kramer, 1957, 131 + xvii pp.

The text of *S* is preceded by a survey of the phonology and morphology of the scribe's language which, despite some Picard features, Heinermann assigns to the West or South-West of France. In her footnotes to the text of *S* Heinermann gives not only rejected MS variants but also variants from the text as printed by G. Paris (Edition of 1872, 222-260). The text is followed by a section of critical notes (pp. 58-131) on individual lines of the text with some comparisons with similar lines in other OF texts and detailed notes on the interpolations in this inflated version of the *VSA*. There is a word-list without translations, an index of topics treated in the notes and a brief bibliography.

156. Stimm, Helmut, «Zur Sprache der Handschrift V des Alexiusliedes». *Med. Aev. Rom.*, Festschrift für Hans Rheinfelder (pp. 325-338), Munich: M. Hueber, 1963, xx + 411 pp.

A study of the dialect of the MS *V* which had hitherto been regarded as of Walloon provenance. Stimm gives persuasive reasons why the dialect is probably S.E. French (cf. 152).

- 1. G.A. Beckmann, *Rom. Jhb.*, XV (1964), 206.
- 2. R. de Cesare, *SF*, VIII (1964), 128.
- 3. P. Rickard, *FS*, XVIII (1964), 248-249.
- 4. B. Müller, *ZFSL*, LXXV (1965), 88.

157. Olsen, B. Munk, «Problèmes d'attribution: la version de la Vie de Saint Alexis en quatrains alexandrins monorimes (XIV^{e} siècle)», (pp. 144-165), *Etudes Romanes dédiées à A. Blinkenberg*, Copenhagen: Munksgard, 1963, 271 pp.

A commentary on Morawski's theory (153) that a certain number of the 14th century alexandrine rhymed versions of saints' lives and some *Dits de la Vierge* of the same century may have been composed by Jehan de Saint-Quentin.
Olsen concludes that we can go no further than to remain impressed by the similarities of style and tone in the various poems in question.

- R. de Cesare, *SF*, VIII (1964), 127.

158. Lebègue, Raymond, «Miracle de N.-D. de St Alexis», (p. 667) *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises, I, Le Moyen Age*, Paris: A. Fayard, 1964, 766 pp.

Lebègue points out that though there are records of miracle-plays on the life of the saint having been performed at Compiègne in 1476 and 1485, and at Metz in 1498, the only MS of a medieval drama on the life of Alexis is the 40th of the *Miracles de Notre-Dame* in the 14th century Cangé MS.

159. Kriele, Christel, *Untersuchungen zur Alexiuslegende des Tombel de Chartrose (14 Jhd).*, (Inaug. Diss.), Munster: Dissertationsdruck, 1967, 234 + xxix pp.

Frau Kriele considers the way in which the poet of the *VSA* in the 14th century collection called the *Tombel de Chartrose* has altered his Latin original to make it fit in with the principles of medieval French rhetoric. She also comments on the poet's use of decorative padding and on his defence of the conduct of Alexis in leaving his bride and his parents as, in principle, a defence of monasticism.

- 1. M. Sprissler, *ZRP*, LXXXV (1969), 275-276.
- 2. F. Whitehead, *FS*, XXIII (1969), 167.
- 3. K.D. Uitti, *Rom. Phil.*, XXIV (1970), 128-137.

160. Stebbins, Charles E., «The Oxford version of the Vie de Saint Alexis: an Old French Poem of the Thirteenth Century», *Rom.*, XCII (1971), 1-36.

This is the first complete edition of the 13th century Oxford MS of the *VSA* (Bodl. Canonici Misc. 74). Stebbins prints his text with only a few emendations taken mostly from the base MS *P* (BN fonds fr. 2162). There are 1043 lines divided into 58 monorhymed alexandrine *laisses*. Stebbins gives brief phonological and morphological notes; there is a table of proper nouns and an inadequate glossary of a bare 27 words.

In a note (p. 1) Stebbins announces his forthcoming edition of the MS *P* (*v.* 161). His promise of an extensive bibliography and a complete etymological glossary was not fulfilled.

- G. Mombello, *SF*, XVII (1973), 323.

161. Stebbins, Charles E., *A Critical Edition of the 13th and 14th Centuries Old French Poem Versions of the «Vie de Saint Alexis». (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, Band CXLV)*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1974, 153 pp.

The 13th century poem, the more interesting of the two, consists of 60 monorhymed alexandrine *laisses* of varying length, 1224 lines in all, (BN fonds fr. 2162). The later poem consists of 992 octosyllabic rhymed couplets, (MS 244 de la Bibliothèque de la ville d'Avranches), (*v.* also 154).

Stebbins studies in detail the versification, the phonology and the morphology of the language of the two poets and includes a chapter on the relationship of the Paris MS 2162 to its Latin source. The Latin *Vita* is printed in an appendix. The Bibliography is sparse and out-of-date. Though the glossary for the 14th century text is good, that for the 13th century text is very inadequate.
Stebbins believes, wrongly in my view, that the 11th century version of the *VSA* is «vastly inferior» to the 13th century version.

- 1. C. Storey, *Med. Aev.*, XLV (1976), 117-119.
- 2. J.K. Atkinson, *Cahiers*, XX (1977), 376.
- 3. W.G. van Emden, *FS*, XXXIII (1979), 570-571.

162. Stebbins, Charles E., «'Clergie o Chevalerie' dans la version en vers du XIV[e] siècle consacrée à la légende de saint Alexis», *RBPH*, LIV (1976), 763-768.

Stebbins comments on the poet's efforts to reconcile the ideals of the medieval clerk and the medieval knight: «Quar science o chevalerie / c'est ferme tour sur roche assise» (164-165).

- P.E. Bennett, *YWMLS*, (1976), 59.

163. Stebbins, Charles E., «Une étude comparative des trois grandes versions en vers de la *Vie de saint Alexis* conservées en vieux français», *RLR*, LXXXIII, 2 (1978), 378-403.

In his 1974 edition (161) of the 13th and 14th century poem versions of the *VSA* Stebbins expatiated on the supposed superiority of the 13th century version over the succinctly dramatic 11th century version. Here he does a like office for the 14th century version. In my opinion no version can hold a candle to that of the 11th century in the Hildesheim MS *L*. Professor Stebbins's learned article is nevertheless a helpful contribution to the study of the *VSA*.

As a postscript to this section, it is worth mentioning that in 1856 in the *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai*, IV, pp. 65-73 there was published a fragmentary version of the *VSA* without beginning or ending which had been found in a tattered notebook in the public library at Tournai. Judging from the handwriting, the poem would appear to have been written down in the 15th century. The hexasyllabic lines begin with the unkindness of the servants:

> Moult souvent le ruoient
> Ou nes et o menton
> Les vermis et ordures

and end in an unfinished sentence with the death of the saint, the lamentations of the bride and a mass in the church of St Boniface.

CHAPTER 7

The Alexis story in languages other than French

This inevitably selective section gives references to some of the best known of the many versions of the Alexis legend in languages other than French.

ENGLISH VERSIONS

164. Horstmann, Carl, «Leben des h. Alexius nach MS Laud 108», *Archiv*, LI (1873), 101-110.

At the end of the Bodl. MS Laud 108 there are three ill-written legends dating from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century; of these the third is the story of St Alexis (fol. 233b-237a). Following some brief remarks on the language of this Middle English version of the *VSA*, which is closely based on the Latin *Vita*, (*v.* 204), Horstmann prints the poem under its Latin heading «Vita cuiusdam sci viri nomine Alex. optima vita». The poem has a pleasant introductory verse:

> Sitteth still withouten strif
> and I schal tell you the lif
> Of an holy man.
> Alex was his righte name:
> To serve gad thoute him no schame.

165. Horstmann, Carl, «Zwei Alexiuslieder», *Archiv*, LVI (1876), 391-416.

This article is a continuation of Horstmann's 1873 article in Herrig's *Archiv*, (164). He begins with a transcription of the Middle English MS Bodl. Vernon fol. 43 which closely resembles the version of Bodl. Laud 108, and then prints two parallel but somewhat different versions, namely those of the MSS Trinity Coll. Oxf. 57, fol. 73 and Bodl. Laud L. 70, fol. 115. In each case Horstmann gives a fairly detailed description of the language.

166. Schipper, Jakob, *Englische Alexiuslegenden aus dem XIV und XV Jahrhundert, Heft 1; Version 1, Quellen und Forschungen*, XX, Strasbourg and London: Trübner, 1877, 107 pp.

A study mainly of the language of the text of the charming XIVth century English Version 1 of the *VSA*, «that blisful child, Alex, bothe meke and mild». The parting gift in this version is simply a gold ring.

167. Furnivall, Frederick J., *Adam Davy's 5 dreams about Edward II. The Life of St Alexius, etc.*, E E T S, Original Series, LXIX, London: Trübner, 1878, 122 pp.

On pp. 17-79 we have the life of St Alexis in four versions from six MSS, — a version in 12-line stanzas from Bodl. Laud. MS 622, three 6-line stanza versions from Bodl. Vernon MS, Laud MSS 108 and 463 and Trin. Coll. Oxford MS 57 and a short version in couplets from the BL Cotton MS, Titus A XXVI.

Furnivall gives a running summary of the story at the head of each page. Here, as elsewhere, Alexis gives his bride a ring: and after his death his hand releases to the pope his written account of his life while from his mouth there issues a beam of light «brighter than the soane beom». In his Notes (p. 99) Furnivall mentions that there is a Durham Cathedral MS in Bishop Cosin's Library, V.ii, 14. fol. 92r which fairly closely resembles the Laud 108 version. See also in section «Some comparative studies» (252) Rösler, Mgte., *Die Fassungen der Alexiuslegende*, 1905 in which the author describes in some detail (pp. 79-97) six Middle English versions of the *VSA*, namely: a 13th century version in three manuscripts, Bodl. Vernon 43, Bodl. Laud 108 and Naples XIII, B29; two late 14th century versions, the first in Bodl. Laud 622, the second in Bodl. Ashmole 42 and in Cambridge Univ. Library Gg V., 31; and three 15th century versions, the first in BL Cotton, Titus A XXVI, the second in Bodl. Laud 463 and in Trinity Coll. Oxford, 57, and the third in Cambridge Univ. Library Gg II, 6.

ETHIOPIAN VERSIONS

168. Cerulli, Enrico, *Les vies éthiopiennes de Saint Alexis l'homme de Dieu* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Aethiopici*, Tomus 59), Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1969, iv + 164 pp.

As Cerulli points out in his short Introduction, the Ethiopian versions of the *VSA* follow the western versions of the story but owe their existence to Greek or Arabic versions. In Ethiopian there are

three recensions, 1, the *Actes*, a full version of the saint's life, 2, a résumé of the *Actes* and 3, a résumé plus a full account of the appearance of the Virgin to an Armenian priest. It is interesting to note that in the *Actes* there is a section devoted to the saint's schooldays!

FLEMISH VERSIONS

169. Anon., *Liedeken van den H. Alexius, hoe hy zyn onders huys verliet om armoede te lyden en naerdien wederom ontvangen is, Stemme: Bachus den goeden God prys ik vol deugden*, Ghent: I. C. Van Paemel, 1840. The third of a collection of song-sheets numbered 1-81, of which numbers 79 and 80 are missing from the BL volume.

In this song Alexis serves as a source of inspiration for the leading of a better life.

170. Keidel, George C., «The Saint Alexis Legend», *MLN*, VIII (1893), col. 298, p. 149.

Keidel mentions a Flemish MS version of the 14th century. It is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, No. 3072 of MS 3067-3073. It begins: «Dit es sente Alexis legende» and extends over eight folios.

GERMAN VERSIONS

171. Massmann, Hans F., *Sanct Alexius Leben in acht gereimten mittelhochdeutschen Behandlungen, nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung, so wie deutschen, griechischen und lateinischen Anhangen. Herausgegeben von H. F. M. Bibliotek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur, Band IX*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Basse, 1843, 208 pp.

Eight Middle High German versions of the *VSA* as well as three Latin versions. Two of the MHG versions are discussed by A. Schönbach in his article «Über Sant Alexius», *ZDA*, XVIII (1875), 82-89, (172).

172. Schönbach, Anton, «Über Sant Alexius», *ZDA*, XVIII (1875), 82-89.

A consideration of two of the Middle High German versions of the Alexis story, (MSS *G* and *P*) published by H.F. Massmann in 1843 (171). Schönbach makes a number of suggested alternative readings for *G*, based on *P* which latter MS Massmann, according to Schönbach, tended to neglect.

173. Joret, Charles, «La légende de Saint Alexis en Allemagne», *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, II, (1880), 286-304; 410-416; later published as: *La légende de Saint Alexis en Allemagne*, Paris: Vieweg, 1881, 30 pp.

Joret refers to 11 German versions of which 8 are in verse and 3 in prose. His article is mainly devoted to the 8 verse versions which he compares in some detail. He is of the opinion that the German versions of the *VSA* are more faithful to the succinct Latin original than the French versions. This may well be true of the 13th and 14th century French versions, but is hardly true of the Hildesheim version.

174. Meyer, Nicolas and Mooyer, Ernst F., *Altdeutsche Dichtungen aus der Handschrift. Herausgegeben von N. Meyer und E.F.M. Mooyer*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig: G. Basse, 1883, x + 82 pp.

The first of the eight poems in this collection is the *Legende vom heiligen Alexius* in rhyming couplets (1525 lines). The poems are from a 13th century Codex in the Stadtbibliothek at Minden.

175. Toischer, Wendelin, «Sanct Alexius», *ZDA*, XXVIII (1884), 67-72.

This is a slightly amended version of a 13th century fragment of a Middle High German poem the MS of which was, and may still be, in the Library of the monastery of Strahof, near Prague. It was first printed by Caspar Bauschek in A.G. Meissner's *Apollo*, III (1794), 167 et seq.

Bauschek did not guess the subject of the poem, but Toischer having seen the name *Eufemien* l. 93 realised that the subject of the poem was St Alexis, and that though the beginning of the story was missing, the last 149 lines gave an unique version of the burial of the saint. The bride dies seven days after Alexis and when her body is placed in her husband's coffin the dead saint raises his arm and turns towards his bride.

Eufemien, a king in Rome in this version, locks his palace door and throws the key into the Tiber. A year later, however, he finds the key on the river bank, re-opens his palace and establishes a monastery there in memory of his son.

176. Henczynski, Richard, *Das Leben des heiligen Alexius von Konrad von Würzburg* (Diss. Strasburg) *Acta Germanica, Band VI, Heft I*, Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1898, 1910, 116 pp.

Henczynski prints the text of an early 14th century Alsatian MS which he calls *A*, with certain emendations based on an Innsbruck MS (*J*) and a Sarn MS (*S*). Variants are given in footnotes. Details of

the language of *A* are considered in the introduction (pp. 5-22), and the text is followed by copious notes (pp. 84-116).

177. Janson, Gustav O., *Studien über die Legendendichtungen Konrads von Würzburg* (Diss.), Marburg: R. Friedrich, 1902, 64 pp.

The first 42 pages of this thesis are devoted to Konrad's *Alexius*, the rest to his *Pantaleon*.

178. Gereke, Paul, *Konrad von Würzburg. Die Legenden, II, Herausgegeben von Paul Gereke*, Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* XX, 1926, xiv + 63 pp.

Gereke summarises in his Introduction the growth of the Alexis legend, explains the principles on which his edition is based and states that Konrad must have composed his poem between the Autumn of 1274 and June 1275. Konrad's poem consists of 1413 lines in rhyming couplets.

179. Rosenfeld, Hans F., «Eine Bearbeitung des 'Alexius B' aus dem 15. Jh.», *Neuphil. Mitt.*, LXVI (1965), 91-107.

Rosenfeld prints the German text at the end of his detailed article on the 15th century German version of the *VSA*. There are references to the studies by Blau (3) and Massmann (171).

180. Vizkelety, András, «Fragmente mittelhochdeutscher Dichtung aus Ungarn», *ZDA*, CII (1973), 219-222.

Notes on a Middle High German fragmentary MS of the *VSA* found in the Budapester Akademiebibliothek (K556).

181. Palmer, Nigel F., «Eine Prosarbeitung der Alexiuslegende Konrads von Würzburg», *ZDA*, CVIII (1979), 158-180.

An introduction to an edition of Konrad von Würzburg's prose life of St Alexis, «Dis ist sant Allexius leben».

GREEK VERSIONS

182. The oldest Greek versions of the Life are the following:

1. The «canon» of Joseph the Hymnographer who flourished in the 9th century. The «canon» consists of a series of odes mostly of 4 strophes each. Three of the odes sing the praises of St Alexis. There is a Latin translation of the Canon made by the Bollandists and published in Venice in 1639.

2. A Life attributed to Simeon Metaphrastos; 12th century MS 153 Vienna Library; *v.* Massmann, (171, pp. 34 and 192).
3. A Life by Agapius to be found in a *Recueil des plus remarquables Vies des Saints traduites en dialecte vulgaire d'après Siméon Métaphraste*; *v.* Stebbins, (254), pp. 679-695.
4. An anonymous Life in the Munich Library, MS Cod. graec. 3; *v.* Massmann, (171), pp. 36 and 201.

183. Pereira, F.M. Esteves, «Légende Grecque de l'Homme de Dieu, Saint Alexis», *Anal. Boll.*, XIX (1900) 241-253.

An edition of the Greek version contained in the MS BN Parisinus gr. 1538 written in the 10th century.
Pereira's article is followed (pp. 254-256) by a «Note sur la date de la Légende Grecque de S. Alexis» by Baudouin de Gaiffier.

184. Rösler, Margarete, *Alexius Probleme*, *ZRP*, LIII (1933), 508-528.

Margarete Rösler transcribes a 12th century Greek version (Marcianus VII 33) of the legend together with a translation into German. She compares this version with a number of Greek and Syriac texts. (*v.* also 252).

IRISH VERSION

185. Dunn, Joseph, «The Life of Saint Alexis», *Revue Celtique*, XXXVIII (1920-1921), 133-143.

Dunn reproduces an 18th century Irish version of the *VSA* dated 1782 from the BL Egerton MS 112, fol. 508r — 510. The text is followed by a translation into English. In this version Alexis gives his bride the severed half of a ring before he leaves her. After his death the other half is discovered inside the written account of his life which the Pope is able to take from his hand. There is an interesting reference to the turtle-dove when the wife says to her mother-in law: «There is a kind of bird in the world, the turtle-dove is its name, and when those birds pair among themselves and then one of them dies, the other bird never mates with any other bird again. And I will do likewise. I will never wed with any other man forever, and I will put on penitential garb and will recite my hours and psalms for love of the soul of my own dear husband.» (For other references to the turtle-dove in medieval literature see 134, 305.)

ITALIAN VERSIONS

186. Anon., *La Rapresentatione di Santo Alexo, Nuovamente Ristampata*, Florence: Gennaio, 1554, 1570, 16 pp.

A version in verse with eight striking woodcut illustrations. The parting gifts are, as usual, a ring and a swordbelt.

187. Anon.,*Historia y vita de Santo Alessio*, Venice: F. de Leno, 1560(?), 8 pp.

A verse version in 80 rhyming stanzas each of 8 lines. On the first page there is a woodcut of the pope receiving from the hand of the dead Alexis the written account of his life. The father, mother and bride are weeping by the pope's side. In this version Alexis's sole gift to his bride is a ring.

188. *Saint André, le R.P. Pierre de, *Le Saint Alexis, Traduit de l'Italien de M. le Marquis Antoine-Jules Brignol-Salé par le R.P. de S. André*, Aix: Chez Estienne Roize, 1674.

A prose version discovered in the Bibliothèque de la Méjanes at Aix by Altrocchi and mentioned in his article «Cansoun de Sant Alexis» in *University Cal. Publications in Mod. Phil.*, XVIII, No 3 (1935), 238, (227).

189. Manni, Domenico M., (Ed.), *Delle Vite de' Santi, Tomo Quarto, Vite di alcuni Santi scritte nel buon secolo della lingua toscana*, Florence: Appresso Domenico Maria Manni. Con licenza de' superiori, 1735, 408 pp.

On pp. 261-265 of this beautifully printed volume there is a prose version of the Life, «Vita di S. Alessio». Alexis's parting gifts are his «anello d'oro, e il capo della cintura, con la quale si cingeva». All the main events of the story are included in this brief narrative.

190. Anon., *Istoria della vita, e morte di S. Alessio, Quale andando al S. Sepolcro fu ingannato dal Demonio; E poi ritornato a casa sua, visse sconosciuto sotto una scala, dove glorioso morí, e suonarona tutte le campane di Roma miracolosamente, e fece moltissimi miracoli nell' esposizione del suo Santo Corpo*, Fuligno: Fosi, 1820, 24 pp.

A very slightly altered version of the 1554 *Rapresentatione* (186).

191. Magna, A. della, *Il libro de' Dodici Articoli della Fede e la Vita di S. Alessio. Testi di lingua citali nel vocabulario della Crusca. Ora per la*

prima volta pubblicata dall' abate Giuseppe Manuzzi, Florence: D. Passigli, 1844, 14 pp.

As well as the Apostles' Creed and some examples of Italian good usage from Crusca's dictionary, the book contains Crusca's translation into Italian of Jacobus de Voragine's Latin version of the *VSA*, (205). Alexis gives his bride his gold ring and his belt.

In the BL catalogue the book appears as though A. della Magna were the author. On the book itself, however, his name is not printed but is merely written in pencil on the title-page.

192. Renier, Rodolfo, «Qualche nota sulla diffusione della leggenda di Sant' Alessio in Italia, (pp. 1-12) *Raccolta di studj critici dedicati ad Alessandro D'Ancona*, Florence: Barbèra, 1901, xlviii + 791 pp.

A useful summary of the spread of the legend of St Alexis in Italy.

- G. Paris, *Rom.*, XXX (1901), 591.

193. Baudana-Vaccolini, Lucilla P., «Per la storia della leggenda di S. Alessio», *Bolletina della Società filologica romana*, IX (1906), 31-59.

A concise account of the Italian versions of the *VSA*.

194. Monaci, Ernesto, *Antichissimo Ritmo Volgare sulla Leggenda di Sant' Alessio*, Rome: Tipografia della R. Academia dei Lincei, 1907, 32 pp.

An introductory survey of the linguistic and literary features of the late 12th century MS of a 28 stanza poem from the region of Fermo followed by Monaci's «trascrizione interpretativa», with the diplomatic text in the form of footnotes.

There is a selective glossary with some additional notes.

- A. Thomas, *Rom.*, XL (1911), 156-157.

195. Altrocchi, Rudolph, «An Old Italian Version of the Legend of St Alexis» *Romanic Review*, VI (1915), 353-363.

The version of the *VSA* transcribed by Altrocchi is found in a volume of legends in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (MS 1661). The volume is dated 1371 and Altrocchi is of the opinion that the MS was written between 1350 and 1351. The story follows closely the OF version apart from one or two personal and place names and the statement that the ring was divided by Alexis and that one half was given to the bride.

196. Vitaletti, Guido, «Tradizioni carolingie e leggende ascetiche raccolte presso Fonte Avellana», *Arch. Rom.*, III (1919), 409-510.

On pp. 461-474, Vitaletti gives extracts from three old Italian versions of the Alexis story which, as he rightly remarks, found in Italy «una seconde patria», so much so that a fourth slightly later version begins: «Alezio, Alezio, ch'era 'n romano, Fijolo de 'no ricco de Milano.»

197. Mor, Carlo Guido, «La 'Vita di S. Alessio' secondo il ms. trivulziano 93», *Arch. Rom.*, VIII (1924), 436-451.

This Italian version was probably composed towards the end of the 14th century. It consists of 522 lines of monorhymed laisses of four lines each. It begins thus: «Eufumian da roma fo nobel caualer. Potente era richissimo e molte amigo de de.»

198. Altrocchi, Rudolph, «A New Version of the Legend of St Alexis», *Mod. Phil.*, XXII (1924-1925), 337-352.

An edition of the *Istoria Sancti Alexi*, 1439, (N.E. Italian dialect) from the Library of the University of Chicago, vol. B 3675. 14. 5. The narrative begins in a loose form of verse but soon turns into prose. Altrocchi promises future articles on the sources of this version and its relation to the versions of the Bollandists (204) and the *Legenda Aurea* (205) of Jacobus de Voragine; he also promises a discussion of the versification and the linguistic peculiarities of the text. These promises would appear not to have been fulfilled.

- G. Franzi, *Arch. Rom.*, XIII (1929), 191-193.

199. Filippo, Luigi de, «Alcune note sulla diffusione della leggenda di 'Sant' Alessio' in terra d'Otranto», *Arch. Rom.*, XIX (1935), 359-386.

A consideration of four 12th century Italian versions of the *VSA*.

200. Cianciòlo, Umberto, «Contributo allo studio dei Cantari di argomento sacro», *Arch. Rom.*, XXII (1938), 162-241.

On pp. 186-188 Cianciòlo deals briefly with the Italian Alexis poems.

201. Babudri, Francesco, «La leggenda di Sant' Alessio 'Omo de Dio' in un manoscritto settecentesco istriano di Parenzo», *Arch. Rom.*, XXIV (1940), 238-284.

This MS, dated 1783, is apparently a copy of a much older Istrian version of the *VSA*. Babudri discusses the language of the MS, the oriental features of the story of the saint, and produces a very useful bibliographical list. Babudri's article (pp. 238-267) is followed by the poem itself, with footnotes (pp. 268-284).

202. Spitzer, Leo, «Nuove osservazioni sul testo del 'Ritmo su S. Alessio'», *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, CXXXIII (1956), 202-207.

There are some helpful comments on some difficult passages in this anonymous poem of the late 12th or early 13th century. The MS is in the Biblioteca Comunale, Ascoli Piceno. There is an edition of the poem in G. Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, vol. I, Milan and Naples, 1960, xxvi + 934 pp. (*v.* 285).

203. Pizzorusso, Valeria B., «Le versione otrantine della leggenda di S. Alessio», *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, VI-VII (1959), 9-24.

After an introduction describing the story of the *VSA* and its various Italian versions Pizzorusso prints a number of parallel passages from the 4 versions published by L. de Filippo in *Arch. Rom.*, XIX (1935), 359-386, (199) and from the hitherto unpublished 15th century Versione di Maglie (*E*) which he then prints in full.

LATIN VERSIONS

204. *Anon., «De Sancto Alexio Confessore», *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiorum*, Julii, t. IV, 238-270, Antwerp, 1725.
«De Vita S. Alexii Confessoris», *Acta Sanctorum*, t. XXXI Julii, t. IV, 251-253, Brussels, 1780.

This prose story of the life of St Alexis in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists is generally considered to be the version on which the 11th century poet based his work. According to Canon Meunier (24 pp. 9-11), the «Vita» was probably composed shortly after the end of the 10th century. It is reproduced in Massmann's *Sanct Alexius Leben* (171), in Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfr. Übungsbuch* (16) and in the editions of Meunier (24), Rohlfs (29), Stebbins (161) and Odenkirchen (33).

205. Voragine, Jacobus de, *Legenda Aurea*, 13th century, first printed version, Strasbourg, 1471 (?).

In this collection of readings for the Church year (saints' Lives, events in the lives of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, information on holy days and holy seasons), the Life of Saint Alexis, *De sancto Alexio*, is in chapter 94. The standard edition is that of Graesse, Theodor, *Jacobi a Voragine, Legenda Aurea, vulgo historia lombardica dicta ad optimorum librorum fidem recensuit Dr. Theodor Graesse*, Vratislava: W. Koebner, 1846, 1890, iv + 958 pp. (The Life of St Alexis is on pp. 403-406). There is a 16th century

translation into French by Jehan de Vignay printed at Lyons in 1518 of which the Alexis chapter is reproduced in «*Les plus belles fleurs de la légende dorée de jacques de voragine, évesque de Gennes, ornées de figures du temps*», Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1920, 227 pp. and a translation into modern French, «*La légende dorée par Jacques de Voragine traduite du Latin et précédée d'une notice historique et bibliographique par M.G.B.*», Première Série, Paris: Garnier frères, 1924(?), 430 pp. (The *VSA* appears on pp. 168-171.)

206. Massmann, Hans F., *Sanct Alexius Leben*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Basse, 1843, 208 pp.

Massmann prints three Latin versions of the life of Alexis together with some Middle High German versions, (171). The two best Latin MSS he calls *A* and *B*. *B* is the *Vita* of the Bollandists and, in his opinion, is strongly influenced by the Church. In *A* the bride comes to the fore and it is she, and not the pope, who receives the *charte*. Massmann holds that *A* is the older MS and that it was composed in Germany in the 12th Century. G. Paris (*v.* 246) disagrees with this; he believes *A* to be more recent than *B* and to be of Italian origin. G. Eis, however, (207) agrees with Massmann.

207. Eis, Gerhard, «Das Alter der lateinischen Alexiuslegende *A*», *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, XXIII (1935), 146-147.

This article is a comment on the findings of H.F. Massmann in his *Sanct Alexius Leben*, 1843, (206). Eis agrees with Massmann against G. Paris (246), that the textual evidence indicates that the Latin *Vita* known as *A* was probably composed in Germany in the 12th century, and not, as Paris held, considerably later.

208. Hermann, Léon, «Thiébaut de Vernon», *Le Moyen Age*, 3^{e} série XI, t. XL de la collection (1940), 30-43.

Hermann is of the opinion that Thiébaut de Vernon is not, as G. Paris held (14), the author of the OF *VSA* but of the Latin verse version in the Brussels MS 8883-8894, (*v.* 214). In his article Hermann gives a number of examples which appear to show that the Latin verse version is nearer to the OF version than the prose *Vita* which is traditionally regarded as the anonymous French poet's source. Hermann's suggestion is worth further serious consideration.

209. Vázquez de Parga, Luís, «¿La más antigua redacción de la leyenda de San Alejo?» *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional*, II (1941), 245-258.

A hitherto unpublished Latin prose version, possibly of the 7th

century (BHL 286) which Vázquez de Parga believes to be the earliest Latin version of the *VSA*.

210. Assmann, Erwin, «Ein rhythmisches Gedicht auf den heiligen Alexius», (pp. 31-38), *Festschrift Adolf Hofmeister*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1955, 342 pp.

A new edition of the 11th century MS (Vat. Pal, 828) of the Latin poem, *Pater Deus ingenite* which M. Sprissler considered to be a source of the *VSA* (114) and which J. Rychner thought, probably rightly, was an abridged adaptation of the *VSA*, (133).

211. Wagner, Fritz, «Die Verslegende vom hl. Alexius. 'Duxit Romanus vir nobilis Eufemianus'», *Mitt. Lat. Jhb.*, I (1964), 78-99.

A consideration of several Latin versions of the *VSA*, followed by the text of the «Duxit Romanus» poem based on the 12th century MSS *B* (Bern, Cod. 710) and *P* (Paris BN 1687 Colbertinus 2754; Regius C. 3743a).

212. Wagner, Fritz, «Die metrische Alexius-Vita ' Eufemianus erat ceu lectio sacra revelat'», *Mitt. Lat. Jhb.*, II (1965), 145-164.

Wagner considers in some detail the Latin MS Codex Vindobonensis 898 which is in the Austrian National Library and which contains the above-named late 12th century Latin poem entitled «Incipit vita sancti Alexii confessoris». He follows his remarks with the text of the poem.

213. Forstner, Karl, «Das mittellateinische Alexiusgedicht und die zwei folgenden Gedichte im Admonter Codex 664», *Mitt. Lat. Jhb.*, V (1968), 42-53.

A consideration of the date and possible authorship of the Middle Latin *VSA*. Forstner is of the opinion that the MS cannot have been written earlier than the last third of the 11th century and that Pope Leo IX was not the author.

214. Wagner, Fritz, «Das Alexiusgedicht des Brüsseler Codex Nr. 8883-8894», *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, XCV (1973), *Sonderheft* (Festschrift: I. Schröbler), 144-169.

An edition of the 12th century Latin version of the *VSA* in the Brussels Codex of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, preceded by a study of the language, versification and style of the poem, (*v.* 208).

215. Wagner, Fritz, «Versus de sancto Alexi», *Mitt. Lat. Jhb.*, X (1975), 202-206.

The *Versus* in question is a Latin poem of 14 lines beginning «Verus christicola sanctus Alexis erat...» in the 13th century parchment codex Nr. 379 (XVI, 58) in the town library at Courtrai. Wagner sees in the lines echoes of I Timothy 6, 6-12 and Matthew 19, 29-30.

216. Mölk, Ulrich, «Die älteste lateinische Alexiusvita (9/10 Jahrhundert). Kritischer Text und Kommentar.» *Rom. Jhb.*, XXVII (1976), 293-315.

A prose life of the saint of which the oldest MS, in a Passionary of the Abbey of San Pedro de Cardena (Burgos), was written probably in the second quarter of the 10th Century, BL, Add. 256a, f.253 v-258r).

217. Mölk, Ulrich, «Deux hymnes latines du XIe siècle en l'honneur de saint Alexis.» *Mélanges de Philologie et de Littérature romanes offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem* (pp. 455-464), Liège: Cahiers de l'A.R.U. Lg., 1978, 758 pp.

When L. Duchesne (6) said that there was no sign of a Latin cult of Saint Alexis before the arrival in Rome in 977 A.D. of Archbishop Sergius, he was not aware that there already existed in Spain a Latin version of the *VSA* written no later than the middle of the 10th Century. Because of certain resemblances between the Spanish version and the story as related in the two 11th century hymns written down in Champagne, Mölk wonders if the writers had had access to a Spanish MS, (*v.* 216).

OLD NORSE VERSIONS

218. *Gislason, Konrad, «Fabella Alexii confessoris», *Pröver af oldnordisk Sprog og Literatur*, Copenhagen, (1860), 438.

An Old Norse version of the *VSA* mentioned by A. Amiaud, (4).

219. *Seip. Didrik A., «Et fragment på norsk av legenden om den hellige Alexius», *Septentrionala et orientala, Studia Bernhardo Karlgren dedicata, Kunglig. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvetets Akademiens Handlingar, Filologisk-filosofiska serien*, XCI (1959), Stockholm. Mentioned in *YWMLS*, XXII (1960), 441.

POLISH VERSIONS

220. Vrtel-Wierczyński, Stefan, *Staropolska legenda o św. Aleksym, na porównawczem tle literatur slowiańskich,* (*Poznánskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciól Nauk*, tom. 9.), Poznán: Jachowskiego, 1937, x + 323 pp., XIV plates.

A very complete and interesting work which gives all the information available in 1937 concerning the Polish versions of the *VSA* and a good deal of information about versions in other Slavonic languages. The 14 plates, mainly woodcuts, are fascinating. The excellent bibliography is unusually comprehensive. On pp. 301-309 there is a very helpful summary in French of the general thesis of the book. The Latin and Polish texts published in the book are:

1. *Vita Metrica Sancti Alexii.* 12th century BN, MS Lat. 1687.
2. *ibid.*, 15th century, Krasiński Library, Warsaw, No. 3803.
3. Old Polish verse legend. 15th century, Jagellons Library, Cracow, No. 2317.
4. *Life of Saint Alexis* by Wojciech St. Chroscínski, 1710 (poem in Polish).
5. *The Bride's Tale* by K. Illakowicz, Warsaw, 1927 (poem in Polish).
6. *The Life of St Alexis*, 1529 (Old Polish prose).
7. *The Life of St Alexis*, from *Lives of the Saints* by Peter Skarga, 1585.

There are also extracts from other Polish versions and there are textual comments throughout.

221. *Slawska, A., *Polskie wierszoware legendy sredniowieczne. Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich*, Wroclaw, 1962, 539 pp.

According to *YWMLS*, XXIV (1962), 517 Slawska provides the texts of the oldest Polish hagiographical legends of St Alexis, St Stanislas, St Catherina and others, with elaborate comments underlining analogies with various Latin and Czech medieval *Vitae* with especial reference to the *VSA*.

222. *Reczek, J., «Nowy okres w badaniach nad Legendą o sw. Aleksym», *Język Polski*, L (1970), 15-21.

PORTUGUESE VERSIONS

223. Pereira, F.M. Esteves, «Vida de Santo Aleixo segundo os codices do mosteiro de Alcobaça», *Revista Lusitana*, I (1887), 332-345.

There are three prose codices of the *VSA* from the Alcobaça monastery: Cod. 35 in Latin and Codices 36 and 266 in Portuguese. Codices 35 and 36 are now in the National Library at Lisbon and 266 is in the National Archives at Tôrre do Tombo. Pereira is of the opinion that 36 and 266 were probably copied from a lost original of the late 13th or early 14th century, 36 in the middle of the 15th century and 266 perhaps at the beginning of that century. For linguistic reasons and because the MS is dated 1454, Pereira prefers to publish the Cod. 36 text and gives variants of Cod. 266. The text commences at fol. 149r and finishes at fol. 153r; it is entitled «Aquy se começa a uida de Sancto alexo. Confesor».

It should be noted that later scholars (*v.* 224, 225) are of the opinion that Cod. 36 is older than Cod. 266. The Latin Cod. 35 is thought by Pereira to be later than the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum* text which he considers to have been written in Rome in 1636, (cf. 204).

224. Williams, Edwin B., «The Old Portuguese versions of the Life of Saint Alexis: a note based on the chronology of Old Portuguese orthography», *Hisp. Rev.*, IX (1941), 214-215.

The two Old Portuguese versions of the *VSA* considered by Williams are those in Codex 36 and Codex 266 (*v.* 223). After a careful examination of both MSS, Williams is of the opinion, based on orthographic considerations, that the Codex 36 version is the older of the two and not, as Esteves Pereira believed, the more recent version.

225. Allen, Joseph H.D. (Jr.), *Two Old Portuguese Versions of the Life of St Alexis, Codices Alcobacenses 36 and 266*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 37, No. 1., Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1953, x + 67 pp. + 22 plates.

Allen's book begins with a very detailed study of the orthography, phonology, morphology and syntax of the language of the two MSS. Scribal abbreviations are explained and are resolved in italics in the printed text. There are neither notes nor glossary. The 22 plates are very clearly reproduced. The short Bibliography (pp. 66-67) seems somewhat out of date. Allen like Williams, (224) holds that Cod. 36 is older than Cod. 266 and dates them, somewhat rashly, as having been written in 1400 and 1415 respectively.

- H. Guider, *RLR*, LXXI (1954), 346-347.

PROVENÇAL VERSIONS

226. Suchier, Hermann, «Das Leben des heiligen Alexius, Pariser

Handschrift der BN fonds fr. 1745», *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Bd. I, Halle: Niemeyer, 1883, 648 pp.

On pp. 125-155 Suchier gives the text of «La vida de sant Alexi», an Old Provençal version of 1117 lines. There are notes and comments on pp. 520-525.

227. Altrocchi, Rudolph, «'Cansoun de Sant Alexis'. A modern provençal parody of the Legend of Saint Alexis, edited by Rudolf Altrocchi». *Univ. Cal. Publications in Mod. Phil.*, XVIII, No. 3 (1935), 235-264.

This Provençal Cansoun, a parody of the Alexis story, was probably written in the third quarter of the 18th century, and is based on the French hymn *A l'honneur de S. Alexis*: *Sur l'Air*: «*Depuis longtemps qu'en secret je vous aime*», first published in 1750 or thereabouts. The spirit of the parody is irreligious and Voltairian. After a short and interesting introduction Altrocchi gives a diplomatic transcription of the hymn. He concludes with a very good Glossary of the *Cansoun*.

*RUSSIAN VERSIONS

I am deeply indebted to my friend Professor William Harrison, Professor of Russian in the University of Durham, for the following information which I have extracted from his very comprehensive list of items.

228. Adrianova, V.P., (also known as Adrianova-Peretts, V.), *Zhitie Alekseya Cheloveka Bozhiya v drevnei russkoi literature i narodnoi slovesnosti*, (The Life of Alexis, Man of God, in Old Russian letters and folk literature), Petrograd, 1917; reprinted by Mouton, The Hague, 1969 as *Slavistic Printings and Reprintings*, CLXV.

According to Adrianova the story of St Alexis seems to have reached Russia with the coming of Christianity, probably from Byzantium and Bulgaria. Later West European versions may have reached the Western Slavs. The first written indication of Russian knowledge of the Alexis story occurs in the 11th century *Skazanie* (Tale or legend) of *Boris and Gleb* by the monk Yakov.

229. *Manuscripts*: of the hundreds in existence the following appear to Professor Harrison to be among the most important:

Zlatostrui, 12th century, in the State Public Library in Leningrad.

MS No. 9, Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius at Zagorsk, 14th-15th century.

Torzhestvennik, MS No. 48, Moscow Spiritual Academy, 16th century.

Yatsimirski, MS No. 93, Academy of Sciences, 16th century. MS No. 938, Ecclesiastical-Archeological Museum of Kief Spiritual Academy, 17th century.

MSS Nos. 21.7.15; 21.7.14; Academy of Sciences, 16th and 17th centuries respectively.
MS No. 21.9.30, Academy of Sciences, 18th century.

230. *Some printed versions of the Life*

Anfologion (translated from the Greek by Arsenios the Greek), Moscow, 1660. This version found its way into numerous MSS; Adrianova lists 24 on p. 113.

Sreznevskii, I.I., *Svedeniya i zametki o maloizvestnykh i nieizvestnykh pamyatnikakh*, (*Information and observations on little known and unknown texts*), St Petersburg, 1867-1876.

Pamyatniki drevnei pismennosti, St Petersburg, 1878. Uspensky, V.I. and Voro'ev, N.I., (Eds.) *Litsevoe Zhitie sv. Alekseya cheloveka Bozhiya*, St Petersburg, 1906. (This is a photographic copy of an illustrated MS from the library of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich.)

231. *Dramatic version of the story*:

Aleksei, Bozhii Chelovek, MS Q. XIV. 7, Imperial Public Library, (now State Public Library), Leningrad. Published in printed form in 1674 at the Kievo-Pechorskaya Lavra and re-published by N.S. Tikhonravov in *Russkie dramaticheskie proizvedoniya*, 1672-1725, Vol. I, pp. 3-75. St Petersburg, 1874.

232. *Poetic versions*:

Bogoglasnik, 1790 (1805, 1825, 1886), a compilation of religious poems and songs which contains *Pesn' Alekseyu Cheloveku Bozhiya*, (A Song to Alexis, Man of God).

Pesni Blagogoveinye, (Songs of reverence), Pochaevskaya lavra, 1806.

Voznyak, M., *Materialy do istorii ukrainskoi pisni i virshi*, Vol. II, 1914, pp. 424-425.

233. *Minstrel Songs or Spiritual verse.* (*Dukhovnyi stikh*):

Various long poetic versions of the Life are to be found in the follow-

ing and other anthologies. These poems, which appear to be of considerable antiquity, were not written down prior to the beginning of the 19th century.

Kireevskii, P.V., *Russkie narodnye pesni*, (Russian folksongs), Moscow, 1848.

Bezsonov, P.A., *Kaleki perekhozhié*, (Wandering Singers) in 6 parts, part 1, Moscow, 1861-1864.

Istomin, *Pesni russkogo naroda*, (Songs of the Russian people), St Petersburg, 1894, 1899.

234. *Dialect forms of Minstrel Songs*

Metlinsky, *Narodnye yuzhno-russkie pesni* (South Russian Folksongs), Kiev, 1854. (Ukrainian).

Varentsov, *Sbornik russkikh dukhovnykh stikhov*, (Collection of Russian Spiritual Verses), St Petersburg, 1860. (Belorussian).

Trudy Etnograficheskoi Statisticheskoi Ekspeditsii v Zapadnorusskii krai, (Transactions of the Ethnographical-Statistical Expedition to the West Russian region) Vol. 1, pt. 1, St Petersburg, 1872. (Ukrainian).

Dembovetsky, *Opyt opisaniya Mogilevskoi gubernii*, (Attempt at a description of Mogilev Province), Mogilev, 1882.

Onchukov, *Pechorski stikhi i pesni* (Verses and songs from the Pechora region), St Petersburg, 1908.

Vladimirov, P. «Zhitie sv. Alekseya cheloveka bozhiya v zapadnorusskom perevode kontsa XV, v.» (The Life of St Alexis, Man of God, in a West-Russian translation of the end of the 15th century), *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*, (Oct., 1887), 250-267.

- M. Murko, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XII (1890), 560-571.

Ptashitskii, S., *Srednevekovye zapadno-evropeiskie povesti v russkoi i slavyanskoi literature*, I: *Istorii iz Rimskikh Deyanii*, (Medieval West-European Tales in Russian and Slavonic literature, I: Stories from the Roman Acts.) Reference is made in this book to a Galician-Russian version of the Life of St Alexis.

235. *The Prólog*, a collection of religious texts dating from the 12th century which went through many editions especially in the 17th century during the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich. A good number of these editions contained the Life of St Alexis, e.g. *Prólog*, Moscow, 1643, 1660, 1662, 1677, 1685, 1689, 1696. (*v.* Demina, A.S., Ed.,

Literaturnyi sbornik XVII veka: *Prólog*; chapter 5, pp. 99-106, — Moscow, 1978.

SERBIAN VERSION

236. Picchio, Ricardo, «Isocolic Constructions in Old Serbian prose», *Xenia Slavia. Papers presented to Gojko Ružičič on the Occasion of his Seventy-fifth Birthday, 2nd February 1969. Edited by Rado L. Lencek and Boris O. Unbegaun*, The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975, 237 pp.

On pp. 149-161 Picchio uses the Old Serbian version of the *VSA* as the basis of this article on the so-called «isocolic principle» in rhythmic Slavonic prose, i.e. the regular use of equal accentual units with a constant number of stresses. This usage apparently helped the medieval reader-performer to arrange his pauses and time the raising and lowering of his voice.

SPANISH VERSIONS

237. Varela de Salamanca, J., *La Vida de sant Alexo*, Seville, (no publisher's or printer's name), 1520 (?), 16 pp.

A faithful prose account of the Life. The bride, Sabina in this version, as in most Spanish versions, is left with a ring as her sole gift and is not entirely deceived into thinking that Alexis was bound only for the Jerusalem Chapel in Rome when he said he was going to Jerusalem, — «assi quedo la donzella engañada: aun que no muche.»

There are two woodcuts: the first is a frontispiece showing Alexis asleep under the stairs, while the second in the top left-hand corner of p. 2 shows the saint with a halo.

238. *Moreto, Augustin, *La Vida de San Alexo*, 1654 a dramatic version published in Valencia by B. Macé in 1676.

239. Olmo Alfonso, Lucas del (Sister of), *Verdadera Relación y Curioso Romance en que se declara la Vida, y Muerte del Bienaventurado San Alexo, compuesto por una hermana de Lucas del Olmo Alfonso natural de Xerez de la Frontera*, Madrid: Imprenta de Cruzada, 1764, 8 pp.

A three-part poem version which includes an episode in which the devil intervenes in the story. Here again the bride is Sabina; her only gift is a ring, and she accepts that the Jerusalem for which Alexis says

he is bound may well be the chapel of that name in Rome, (cf. 237, 240, 241).

240. Anon., *Elogio histórico en honra y gloria del bienaventurado San Alexo, hijo del grande Eufemiano, senador romano. Escrito por un sacerdote individuo de la Comunidad de la Iglesia Parroquial de Santa Maria del Mar. Obrita útil para promover la devoción al glorioso Santo, y muy provechosa para las almas christianas*, Barcelona: Tecla Pla, 1820 (?), 32 pp.

A prose version preceded by a woodcut of the dead Alexis, under the staircase, about to be discovered by the pope's servants. The gifts to the bride are a ring and a belt and the Jerusalem excuse is used by Alexis, (cf. 237, 239, 241, 242).

241. Anon., *Vida, Peregrinacio, y Mort del benaventurát Sant Aleix fill de Eufemiano senador de Roma. Ara novament Traduhida de Castellá, en nostre vulgar Cathalá*, Manresa: Per Ignasi Abadal Impresór, 1820 (?), 32 pp.

The title page of this Catalan version has a woodcut of the dead Alexis, with a paper in his hand, about to be discovered by a servant of the pope. The prose account begins: «En lo temps que Honorio era Emperador de Roma, havía en la Ciutat un home bó, anomenát Eufemiano.»

Alexis gives his bride, Sabina, a ring and leaves her half thinking he is bound for the Jerusalem Chapel in Rome, (cf. 237, 239, 240, 242). The story is followed by two prayers to St Alexis.

242. Lopez, Tomás, *Vida, peregrinació y mort del benaventurat Sant Aleix, fill de Eufemiano senador de Roma compost per el Sr. Tomás Lopez*, Palma: Taller de libros en blanco, 1874, 32 pp.

A pleasant Old Spanish prose version of the *VSA* which follows the Latin version fairly faithfully. The bride, Sabina, is left with only a ring when her husband departs taking with him from the house «prendas preciosas y molts diners;» the latter he eventually gives to a church, to widows and orphans and to the poor, the former he gives to a beggar in exchange for his rags.

243. Rösler, Margarete, «Beziehungen der 'Celestina' zur Alexiuslegende», *ZRP*, LVIII (1938), 365-367.

A comparison of the laments of the parents of Alexis with those of the parents of Celestina. Was the author of the *Celestina* (1499) perhaps influenced by the Latin version of the *VSA*? cf. *Cel.* «¿ Por

que me dexaste triste e solo *in hac lachrymarum valle*?» and *Vita* «Quis dabit oculis meis *fontem lacrymarum*?» This seems to be a likely theory.

- M.R. Lida, *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, I (1939), 186.

244. Rösler, Margarete, «Versiones españolas de la leyenda de san Alejo», *Nueva revista de Filología hispánica*, III (1949), No. 4, 329-352.

A valuable survey of the Spanish versions; on pp. 335-344 Miss Rösler prints the text of the prose version of *La Vida de Sant Alejo* by Varela de Salamanca (237), and analyses its salient features.

SYRIAC VERSIONS

245. Amiaud, Arthur, *La Légende syriaque de saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu*, *BEHE*, LXXIX, Paris: Vieweg, 1889, lxxxv + 90 pp.

A study of the eight Syriac MSS of the *VSA* (six in the BL, two in the BN), followed by a very careful account of the growth of the legend of St Alexis, a translation of the best Syriac version (BL add. 17177) and the Syriac text itself with notes and variants. The BL MS add. 17177 belongs to the first half of the 6th century. The Alexis story is on fol. 119r — fol. 125r; the first 10 lines of the poem are missing. The two Paris MSS are BN fonds syriaque 234 and 235, (*v.* 4).

- Anon., *Rom.*, XVIII (1889), 527.

SOME COMPARATIVE STUDIES

246. Paris, Gaston, «La Vie de Saint Alexi en vers octosyllabiques», *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 163-180.

Gaston Paris refers here to Horstmann's work on the English versions of the *VSA* (164, 165) and to Herz's edition of the translation of the *Vita* in «laisses monorimes», (141).
On p. 165 he expresses his firm opinion that Massmann (206) was wrong in supposing that the Latin version *A* was older than the Latin version *B*: «elle est au contraire un remaniement assez récent et, sans doute, spécialement italien.»

247. Brauns, Julius, *Ueber Quelle u. Erwicklung der altfranzösischen Cançun de saint Alexis, verglichen mit der provenzalischen Vida, sowie den altenglischen und mittelhochdeutschen Darstellung*, (Diss.), Kiel: Lipsius u. Tischer, 1884, 56 pp.

A study of the development of the legend followed by a detailed comparison of the French version and the Provençal, Old English, Middle High German and Latin versions.

248. Schneegans, Heinrich, «Die romanhafte Dichtung der Alexiuslegende in altfranzösischen und mittelhochdeutschen Gedichten», *MLN*, 1888, No. 5 and No. 6, pp. 124-128; 154-164.

In No. 5 Schneegans begins by referring to Gœthe's letter from Switzerland in which he told how a peasant woman in the Rhône valley gave him a vivid account of the life of St Alexis. This opening is followed by a summary account of the various OF and MHG manuscripts of the *VSA*. In No. 6 Schneegans compares in some detail certain passages in the French and German versions of the story.

249. Müller, Paul, *Studien über drei dramatische Bearbeitungen der Alexiuslegende*, (Diss.), Berlin: George und Fiedler, 1888, 55 pp.

An interesting and well-informed doctoral thesis. Müller has examined 8 dramatic versions of the *VSA*, 3 French, 2 Spanish, 3 Italian, and devotes the 3 chapters of his short work to 1. The development of Miracle Plays in Medieval France with especial reference to the *Miracle de Saint Alexis*. (14th c), 2. *La Vida de San Alexo* of Moreto (1654) and 3. The *S. Allessio, Dramma Musicale*, (1634), (*v.* 256).

250. Kötting, Georg, *Studien über altfranzösische Bearbeitungen der Alexiuslegende mit Berücksichtigung deutscher und englischer Alexiuslieder*, Trier: Lintz, 1890, 44 pp.

In his Introduction Kötting compares the story of Alexis with that of Guy of Warwick. His 5 short chapters summarise the views of scholars of his day on 1. The Latin Vita version of the *VSA*, 2. Some medieval vernacular versions, 3. Vernacular poets' additions to the Latin version, 4. The 13th century French rhyming version (*M*), 5. The French alexandrine version (*P*).

251. Keidel, George C., «The Saint Alexis Legend», *MLN*, VIII, (1893), cols. 296-300, pp. 148-150.

After summarising Amiaud's study (*v.* 4) of the evolution of the Alexis story, Keidel proceeds to mention a number of Latin and French MS versions of the story which were either unknown or unpublished when Amiaud's book was written. He refers also to a Flemish version. (*v.* 170).

252. Rösler, Margarete, *Die Fassungen der Alexiuslegende mit besondere Berücksichtigung der Mittelenglischen Versionen. Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, Band XXI*, Vienna and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1905, x + 197 pp.

A learned and interesting mixture of Alexian themes. The author deals with the sources of the legend, with the form taken by individual items in the story in different versions in several languages (e.g. the birth of Alexis, the marriage night, the saint's wanderings, the «Klagen» of the parents and bride), and with the features of six middle-English versions. In a long appendix she prints in parallel (pp. 118-155) the following Alexis texts: BN MS Grec 1604, fol. 57v-73v, B. Regia Bruxellensis cod, II, 992 (formerly Phillips 8391) fol. 25r-28r, BN MS fonds fr. 412, fol. 167v-170v. Finally, on pp. 156-189, she prints 3 Italian texts, two of the 16th century and one undated. There is no index, but there is a good bibliography.

253. Eis, Gerhard, *Beiträge zur mittelhochdeutschen Legende und Mystik. Untersuchungen und Texte. Germanische Studien, Heft 161*, Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1935, 398 pp.

On pp. 107-155 the chapter entitled *Quellen, Alter und Heimat der Alexiuslegende A* gives a detailed and scholarly review of the Middle High German MSS of the *VSA*. On pp. 256-303 Eis prints a text of *Die Alexiuslegende A* based on the Graz MS 39/59 and the Prague MS XVIG.19 and with footnote references to Massmann's work (171). On pp. 304-315 he gives the Latin *Alexiuslegende des MLA* (Magnum Legendarium Austriacum), a text based on the three MSS of the *Vita sancti Alexii confessoris*, Heiligenkreuz (*H*), Cod. 13, Lilienfeld (*L*), Cod. 60, Melk (*M*), Cod. 676.

254. Stebbins, Charles E., «Les grandes versions de la légende de Saint Alexis», *RBPH*, LIII (1975), 679-695.

A useful summary of the various major versions of the *VSA* — Greek, Latin, German, English and French.

CHAPTER 8

The Vie de Saint Alexis in later literature and art

This short section gives a brief indication of some of the ways in which the story of St Alexis has appealed to hearers, readers, writers and artists during the last 800 years.

1.

ORAL AND WRITTEN REFERENCES:

255. Gautier, Léon, *Les Epopées françaises, II*, Paris: H. Welter, 1892, 803 pp.

Gautier quotes (pp. 41-42) from the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, XXVI, p. 447 the story of a moneylender of Lyons who, having heard the song of St Alexis sung in the city square in 1173, repented of his usury and distributed his goods among the poor. Lebègue, Raymond (*v.* 158) refers to performances of Alexis miracle plays at Compiègne in 1476 and 1485 and at Metz in 1498.

256. *Rospigliosi, Giulio, *Il Sant' Alessio*, Rome: Masotti, 1664.

This musical drama in three acts (music by Stefano Landi) was first performed on February 23rd 1632 in the Barberini Palace in Rome. There is a description of this performance on p. 3 of the *New Oxford History Of Music, V*, (*Opera and Church Music, 1630-1750*), London: OUP, 1975, 869 pp. The most recent revival of the opera was at the 1977 Salzburg Festival.

257. *Spagna, Arcangelo, *Pellegrino nella patria*, 1663, an oratorio on the story of St Alexis.

258. Desfontaines, *L'Illustre Olympie, ou le St Alexis, tragédie, par le sieur Desfontaines*, Paris: P. Lamy, 1645, viii + 107 pp.

Desfontaines, *Saint Alexis, tragédie par Desfontaines*, Troyes: N. Oudot, 1661, 72 pp. and Paris: G. Quinet, 1666, 76 pp.
In 1666 the theatregoers of Paris saw the first production of Desfontaines' play (in alexandrines) in which the whole of the saint's life is reduced to the Classical 24 hours' «traffic» of the stage. After the departure of Alexis, the virtue of the bride, here, Olympie, is assailed by the Emperor. In a long *récit* (Act III, Sc. III) she exclaims: «Apprens à cet ingrat ce que je fais pour luy; Conte luy les combats qu'un Empereur me livre, Avec combien d'ardeur tu l'as veu me poursuivre.» F.-G. Pariset in an article on G. de la Tour's painting of the dead Alexis (*v.* 274) mentions (p. 427) that a play on the life of St Alexis was performed by the students of the University of Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine in 1602 in Latin and, three months later, in French for the benefit of Charles IIIrd and his sons, and that in 1667 at the same University there was a performance of what Pariset calls «une tragédie de saint Alexis»; this, I imagine, must have been the Desfontaines play.

259. Anon, *Recueil de Cantiques Spirituels, contenant les cantiques de Sainte Geneviève, de N.-D. de Liesse, de Saint Hubert, de Saint Alexis et sur le jugement dernier, etc.*, Epinal: Pellerin, 1840 (?), 22 pp.

A pedestrian verse-version of 18 strophes of hexasyllabic lines. The bride expresses the feeling of many readers of the *VSA*:

> Olimpie, toute en larmes,
> Dit à son bien-aimé:
> «Auriez-vous le courage
> De vouloir me laisser
> Dans un triste veuvage?
> Pourquoi m'épousiez-vous,
> Alexis, mon époux?»

The poem is followed by three paragraphs of pious reflexions in prose.
In his *Histoire des Livres Populaires de la Littérature du Colportage depuis le XV^e siècle jusqu'à l'établissement de la Commission d'examen des livres du colportage*. (30 novembre 1852), t. II, 1854, 599 pp. Charles Nisard quotes the poem in full, (pp. 183-188).

260. Anon., *La Vie de Saint Alexis, véritable miroir de Patience et de Chasteté, sa mort et ses miracles avec le Cantique à la fin*, Montbéliard: Deckherr frères, 1840 (?), 24 pp.

A pedestrian prose version. The gifts to the bride are a ring and a belt wrapped in crimson taffeta. As in similar versions of this period,

Alexis takes with him money and clothes: the former he gives to the poor, the latter he exchanges for the rags of a beggar.
There are three agreeable woodcuts: Alexis reading under the stairs; Alexis boarding ship; Alexis receiving alms in «Edesse» (Orfa).

261. Wiseman, Nicolas P.S. (Cardinal), *The Hidden Gem. A drama in two Acts, composed for the College Jubilee of St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw, 1858, with a preliminary account of the celebration of the College Jubilee*, London: T. Richardson, 1859, xxxix + 130 pp.
A somewhat stilted play based on the life of Alexis with a pointed moral for the seminarists at Ushaw College, Durham. Very surprisingly, the play was translated into both French (*La perle cachée*, Limoges, 1875) and German (*Der verborgene Edelstein*, Paderborn, 1892).

262. Arbaud, Damas, *Chants populaires de la Provence, recueillis et annotés par Damas Arbaud*, 2 vols., Aix: Makaire, Bibliothèque provençale, 1864.
In vol. II, p. 25 there is a Provençal rhymed song about St Alexis.

263. Hofmannsthal, Hugo von, *Der Dichter und Diese Zeit, Ein Vortrag*, 1907, in *Die Berührung der Sphären*, Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1931, 450 pp.
E.R. Curtius (*ZRP*, LVI (1936), 136-137) sees an unacknowledged memory of the *VSA* in Hofmannsthal's symbol of the poet as a beggar beneath the stairs in his own home, unrecognised by his family.

264. Meunier, Jean-Marie, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, 1933, (*v.* 24).
On pp. 1 and 2 Canon Meunier reports that as boy he heard a rhymed history of St Alexis sung at a fair at Chaulnes (Nièvre) and refers to similar songs heard elsewhere in France at a similar period. Meunier is far from being the only writer to quote songs and country sayings referring to Alexis.

265. *Fuentes, Joseph A., *Etablissement et commentaire du texte des chansons sur la légende de St Alexis*, (*Thèse*), *Microfilm de l'Université de Laval*, 1967.
Fuentes mentions, *inter alia*, that there are traces of the legend in the folklore of certain provinces of Canada.

266. Ghéon, Henri, *Le pauvre sous l'escalier*, Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française, 1920, 1925, 125 pp.
An amusing and sympathetic dramatic version of the *VSA*.

267. Jarnés, Benjamin, «Vida de San Alejo», *Revista de Occidente*, t. XXII, No. LXV (1928), 129-170.

This is a novel based fairly loosely on the *VSA*. It appeared in book form in 1934 with the title *San Alejo* and was published in Madrid by the PEN Club. The bride of Alexis is called Adriatica, and his mother has the name Agläe which is given to her in the *Vita*.

268. Oostendorp, H. Theodor, «El sentido de *San Alejo* de B. Jarnés (reinterpretación de una leyenda antigua)», *Neophilologus*, LVI (1972), 417-434.

Oostendorp is of the opinion that although Jarnés in his novel quotes at times from the 14th century version published by Pannier in 1872 (14), it is likely that the main source of his knowledge of the *VSA* was the Latin *Vita* which he probably read during his period as a seminarist. Oostendorp also sees in the novel echoes of the *Flos Sanctorum* of Alonso de Villegas, published in Toledo in 1615. This scholarly article concludes with a critical appreciation of the novel itself.

269. Görres, Ida F., *Die Braut des Alexis und andere Mädchengeschichten*, Freiburg in Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1949, 295 pp.

The story of the bride of Alexis (pp. 261-293), here called Veronica, is the sixth and last of this collection of *Mädchengeschichten*. It is a well-written and touching recreation of the main elements of the *VSA*.

2.

TWO POSSIBLE MODERN DISCIPLES

270. Lopez, Albert, *La Vie Etrange d'Humilis*, (*Germain Nouveau*), Bruges: Ch. Beyaert, (3rd. Edn., n.d., but after 1927), 240 pp.

The story of a modern Alexis. Lopez regrettably refers to the saint as «le pouilleux saint Alexis»!

271. Hoste, M.R., *Charles de Foucauld (1858-1916)*, London: Catholic Truth Society, 1936, 32 pp.

The learned missionary-priest was, in his way, another Alexis living, as Hoste says, «a life of extreme mortification. His food was such that no one cared to accept his freely offered hospitality. He began by sleeping in his little chapel, stretched out on the ground like a dog

before his master, but afterwards he found a less luxurious resting-place under an outside wall, or in a tiny cell where he was unable to lie at his full length ... in imitation of our Lord's position on the cross». (p. 16).
(For a full account of de Foucauld's life and work see: Bazin, René, *Charles de Foucauld. Explorateur du Maroc. Ermite au Sahara*, Paris: Plon, 1921, 489 pp.)

3.

THE QUIET SAINT AND A 19th CENTURY QUARREL

272. Keon, Miles G., *The Life and Times of the Roman Patrician Alexis to which is annexed an account of the Mission founded in Kentish Town by the Rev. H. Ivers, and a notice of the late disgraceful attempt at religious persecution*, London: T. Richardson, 1847, 111 pp.
After describing the work of Mr. Ivers's mission at his St Alexis church, Keon gives a rather wordy account of the life of St Alexis followed by a dignified and restrained condemnation of anti-Catholic manifestations in Kentish Town.

273. Gittens, Thomas W., *A smooth stone from the brook slung in the name of the Lord God of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, at Popish doings in Kentish-Town and other places, or remarks upon the history of St Alexis*, London: H.K. Lewis, 1848, 24 pp.
An uncharitable attack on the Roman Catholic mission established in Kentish Town by the Rev. H. Ivers and a scornful summary of the life of St Alexis in whose name the mission-church was dedicated.

4.

ICONOGRAPHY

274. Pariset, François-Georges, «L'image Saint-Alexis de Georges de La Tour, ou, Georges de La Tour au Musée historique lorrain», *Le Pays Lorrain*, Revue régionale mensuelle illustrée, XXX (Janvier 1938), 417-431.
The painting in question, discovered in an attic in Nancy in 1938, is obviously the work of Georges de la Tour and depicts a young man with a flaming torch holding a piece of cloth near to the half-open

mouth of the dead saint to see if any sign of life remains. The young model and the older bearded model figure in several of La Tour's paintings. The probable date of the painting is 1649. In his scholarly article Pariset draws attention to the following examples of Alexian iconography.

i. The carving on the pillar supporting the pulpit (1485) in Strasbourg Cathedral.
ii. A painting of St Alexis by Pietra da Cortona (1596-1669).
iii. A «gravure d'Epinal» of 1627.
iv. A drawing (1632) in the Cabinet des Estampes, Paris by François Collignon entitled «Le drame de Saint Alexis», showing the saint approaching his father in Rome.
v. Jacques Callot's work, *Les images de tous les saints* (1636), which contains a drawing of the discovery of the dead saint.
vi. A drawing (1649) by Claude Mellan (Cabinet des Estampes) entitled «Saint Alexis: Alexius Romanus», which shows the saint contemplated by church and civic dignitaries.

On p. 426 Pariset states: «Dans les pays de religion orthodoxe Alexis est populaire, à preuve les personnages et les empereurs byzantins qui portent son nom. Puis Alexis, métropolite de Moscou au XIV^{e} siècle, âme de la résistance à l'oppression tartare, est canonisé et c'est à cause de lui que le nom devient courant en Russie.» I have doubts about the validity of this statement.

275. Réau, Louis, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, t. III. *Iconographie des Saints*, A-F, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958, viii + 552 pp. + ii.

In this splendid work the iconography of St Alexis is dealt with in detail on pp. 52-54. After pointing out that Alexis is the patron saint of pilgrims, beggars and doorporters and that, like St Joseph, he is invoked for the mercy of a peaceful death, Réau describes the following items:

i. The Hildesheim MS illustrations.
ii. The carving beneath the 1485 pulpit in Strasbourg Cathedral.
iii. Stained glass windows (1518) at Cologne Cathedral.
iv. Georges de la Tour's painting (1647); (Pariset (274) gives 1649 as the probable date.)
v. Jacques Callot's *Images de tous les saints (1636).*
vi. Claude Mellan's «gravure» (1649).
vii. A painting of the saint in the BN *Heures de Louis XIV.*

For further brief details of woodcuts and engravings of scenes from the *VSA* see: 186, 187, 237, 240, 241.

CHAPTER 9

Some anthologies containing extracts from the «Vie de Saint Alexis».

276. Bartsch, Karl, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français (VIII^e-XV^e siècles) accompagnée d'une grammaire et d'un glossaire*, Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1886, 1872, 1883, 1895, 709 pp., reedited by Leo Wiese, 1908, 1910, 1913.
On pp. 19-27, Bartsch prints strophes 1-67 of the *VSA*.
• E. Stengel, *ZFSL*, XVIII (1896), 77.

277. Lidforss, Edouard, *Choix d'anciens Textes français*, Lund: F. Berling, 1877, 96 pp.
This is a revised edition of Lidforss's *Sept anciens Textes français*, *ibid.*, 1866. The whole of the *L* version of the *VSA* is printed (pp. 11-28) with corrections and variants based on the editions of G. Paris (14) and C. Hofmann (13) and the dialectal study of M. Lücking, (46).

278. Constans, Léopold, *Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français (IX^e-XV^e siècles) à l'usage des classes, précédée d'un tableau sommaire de la Littérature Française au Moyen Age et suivie d'un glossaire étymologique détaillé*. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884, 1890, 372 pp.
On pp. 5-9, the editor prints the strophes 78-101 of the *VSA* in the G. Paris version of 1872, (14).
• E. Rigal, *RLR*, XXV (1884), 151-154, and XXXIV (1890), 304, (review of second edition, 1890).

279. Foerster, Wendelin und Koschwitz, Edouard, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch (Die ältesten Sprachdenkmäler mit einem Einhang) zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und Seminarübungen*, 1884; *Sechste Auflage besorgt von Alfons Hilka*, Leipzig: Reisland, 1921, 326 pp. (Reprinted 1932).
A valuable anthology which contains the text of *L* with variants from M,P,S. There is a useful bibliography; and the Latin *Vita* is printed in the Appendix.

280. Voretzsch, Karl, *Altfranzösisches Lesebuch zur erläuterung der altfranzösischen Literaturgeschichte*, Halle (Saale): Niemeyer, 1921, 1932, xvi + 315 pp.

Voretzsch's extract from the *VSA* (G. Paris's text with some alterations explained in the footnotes) comprises strophes 1-7 and 21-32 (pp. 23-26), The footnotes are interesting and there is a full glossary to the whole series of extracts, 65 in all, in the 1932 edition.

- E. Gamillscheg, *ZFSL*, LVII (1933), 126.

281. Studer, Paul and Waters, Edwin G.R., *Historical French Reader. Medieval Period*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, 469 pp.

On pp. 33-42 the editors print the first 225 lines of the *L* version of the *VSA*. All rejected readings of *L* are given in the footnotes. *A,P,S,M* are quoted where the reading of *L* is doubtful. There is a brief bibliography for each extract and a complete glossary for all the 65 passages in this excellent Reader.

- 1. T.A. Jenkins, *Mod. Phil.*, XXII (1924), 434-435.
- 2. M. Roques, *Rom.*, L (1924), 632.
- 3. W. Suchier, *Archiv*, CXLIX (1926), 292.

282. Henry, Albert, *Chrestomathie de la Littérature en Ancien Français, t. 1 Textes*, 350 pp., *t. 2 Notes et Glossaire*, 175 pp., Berne: A. Francke, 1953.

Extracts from the *VSA* are given on pp. 13-20 of t. 1. Lines 246-275 of *L* are given as printed in my 1934 edition (25) and followed by the same passage in the «rédaction interpolée» of the 12th century, the «rédaction rimée» of the 13th century and the «rédaction rimée» of the 14th century as printed in the G. Paris edition of the *VSA* of 1872, (14).

- J. Bourciez, *RLR*, LXXII (1955), 112-113.

283. Pottier, Bernard, *Textes Médiévaux français et romans. Des gloses latines à la fin du XV^e siècle. Choisis et présentés par Bernard Pottier*, Paris: Klincksieck (Publication du Centre de Philologie Romane de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg), 1964, 197 pp.

On pp. 16-18 Pottier gives the lines 386-415 of the *VSA* as printed in my edition of 1934 (25) and as in the G. Paris CFMA edition of 1933, (21), followed by the Portuguese and Spanish prose versions of the same episode in the editions of J.H.D. Allen (225) and M. Rösler (244) respectively.

284. Aspland, Clifford W., *A Medieval French Reader*, Oxford: OUP, 1979, 419 pp.

An excellent selection of texts with helpful notes and a good glossary. There is a long extract from the *VSA* (MS *L* lines 231-550), with a useful Introduction on pp. 7-18 and very good notes on pp. 282-285.

- 1. J.M. Ferrier, *FS*, XXXIV (1980), 434-435.
- 2. G. Di Stefano, *SF*, XXIV (1980), 529.
- 3. T. Hunt, *MLR*, LXXVI (1981), 690.
- 4. F.W. Hodcroft, *Med. Aev.*, LII (1983), 166-167.

285. Sampson, Rodney, *Early Romance Texts: An Anthology*, Cambridge: CUP, 1980, xxiv + 340 pp.

Twelve languages are represented in this interesting anthology of 100 extracts. Extract 56 (pp. 122-124) consists of the Prologue and the first 40 lines of the *VSA* in the reading of my 1968 Blackwell edition (28). Extract 80 consists of lines 129-183 of G. Contini's edition of the early 13th century Italian *Ritmo su Sant' Alessio*, (*v.* 202). Each extract is preceded by a brief introduction and followed by helpful grammatical notes.

- 1. K. Baldinger, *ZRP*, XCVII (1981), 195-200.
- 2. G. Lepschy, Italian Studies, XXXVI (1981), 121-123.

CHAPTER 10

Some works relevant to Alexis studies

I.

THE SAINT IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE

In the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries the idea of the saint as hero was widespread in the literature of France. The items mentioned in this section are typical examples of 20th century critical comment on this important feature of the written and spoken works of the period.

286. Delehaye, Hippolyte, S.J, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1905, xi + 264; 1955, 4e édn., xv + 223 pp. (Originally published in a shorter form at Besançon: Jacquin, 1903, 66 pp., as an extract from the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Juillet 1903).

A very detailed study of the origins and development of legends of the saints, of the way in which the stories eventually reach written form and of the influence on Christian legends of certain pagan predecessors and of earlier or contemporary Christian legends. Delehaye notes the possible influence of the legend of Saint Onésime on the story of Alexis.

287. Baker, Alfred T., «Saints' Lives written in Anglo-French: their historical, social and literary importance», *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, New Series*, IV (1924), 119-156.

An interesting article in which Professor Baker stresses the influence of the serious-minded religious outlook of Northern men and women on the literature of the period and compares it with the attitude of the inhabitants of Southern France where the predominant form of literature was lyric verse.

288. Vernet, Félix, *La spiritualité médiévale*, Paris: Bloud et Gay, (Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses), 1929, 216 pp.

A helpful guide to the theological background of medieval saints' Lives.

289. Ford, J.D.M., «The Saint's Life in Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages», *Catholic Historical Review*, XVII (1931-1932), 268-277.

This is the text of a paper read by Ford at the 11th annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Boston, Mass., Dec. 31, 1930 and is based almost exclusively on P. Meyer's article in the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. XXXIII, (146). There are brief references to the *VSA* on pp. 269, 272, 275.

290. Jones, Paul., *Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Lives of Saints before 1400*, (Diss.), Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1933, 65 pp.

A brief doctoral thesis which summarises (with examples) the general purposes of prologues and epilogues in OF saints' Lives.

- A.T. Baker, *MLR* (1935), 245-247.

291. Merk, Joseph, *Die literarische Gestaltung der altfranzösischen Heiligenleben bis Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, (Diss.), Affoltern am Albis: J. Weiss, 1946, 291 pp.

In this well-documented thesis the author traces the origins, development and stylistic features of OF saints' Lives, and compares in some detail the French and Latin versions of the Lives of saints Eulalie, Léger, Alexis, Gilles, Marguerite, Nicolas, Edmond, Moïse, Thaïs, Marie l'Egyptienne, Josaphat, Laurent, and the Seven Sleepers. There is unfortunately no index.

292. Bowen, Willis H., «Present state of studies in Saints' Lives in Old French Verse», *Symposium*, I, No. 2 (1947), 82-86.

Bowen takes as his basic source of information on French hagiographical literature Paul Meyer's article in vol. XXXIII of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, 1906, pp. 328-458, (146). Of the 240 Lives of 101 saints and biblical characters mentioned by Meyer, 113 had been published in satisfactory editions by 1947. Bowen lists a number of unedited saints' Lives which, in his opinion, were worthy of critical editions, and finishes his article with a plea for further close study of the French saints' Lives and their Latin originals in order to come to some accurate conclusions concerning the originality of the poets and the literary value of their accounts. Since Bowen wrote his article a number of the texts which he describes as unedited have been published in sound editions.

293. Zaal, Johannes W.B., «A lei francesca» («*Sainte-Foy*», v. 20): *étude sur les chansons de saints gallo-romanes du 11e siècle*, Leyden: Brill, 1962, 161 pp.

Zaal asks why the author of the *Sainte-Foy*, writing for a Provençal public, refers to the «tradition française» which meant in his day the tradition of the Northern regions of ancient Gaul. He holds that the poet took his inspiration from a Northern tradition because of the great literary activity in Northern France in the 11th century in general and, in particulier, in the field of Latin saints' Lives. There are many references to the *VSA*, especially on pp. 138-147.

294. Nicholl, Donald, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York* (1114-1140) York: Stonegate Press, 1964, 277 pp.

In Chapter VII (pp. 192-212) Nicholl considers three women who were «promoters of holy vocations», — Adela of Blois, Christina of Markyate and Ailred of Rievaulx. A reference to the possible link between Christina of Markyate and the *VSA* is on p. 197.

295. Smith, Edith, *The Saints*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968, 127 pp.

An interesting account of the search for sanctity through the ages. There is a good index.

296. Aston, Stanley C., «The Saint in Mediaeval Literature» *MLR*, LXV (1970), xxv-xlii.

In this *Modern Language Association* Presidential Address Aston discusses the general characteristics of 12th and 13th century verse Lives of saints as seen against their social and historical background. He sees the Lives as the Church's response to the rising tide of worldly materialism and of antagonism to the traditional teachings of theologians.

297. Dembowski, Peter, «Literary problems of hagiography in Old French», *Medievalia Humanistica*, VII (1976), 117-130.

Dembowski holds that OF saints' Lives, as works of literature, were neglected by many scholars between 1850 and 1939. This he greatly regrets and feels that many of them would repay careful study and that some need to be reedited. All this is very true, but more has been done than he seems prepared to admit. See also W.H. Bowen (292).

298. Johnson, Phyllis and Cazelles, Brigitte, *Le Vain Siecle Guerpir: A Literary Approach to Sainthood through Old French Hagiography of the Twelfth Century*, (*North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, CCV), Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Department of Romance Languages, 1979, 321 pp.

The title comes from the *Vie de Sainte Geneviève de Paris*, line 419; the theme of *fuga mundi* is common to almost every vernacular saint's Life. The first part of the book is an essay by Professor Cazelles on the ascetic saint, the hermit saint and the pagan, the saint and the sinner, and the saint as mediator. In the second part Professor Johnson summarises 24 OF saints' Lives, considers probable dates of composition of the Lives and the A-N or continental nature of the texts in question. There are numerous references to the *VSA* and the date and provenance of *L* are considered on pp. 199-200. The authors have read widely, but they have nothing very new to say.

- 1. A. Gier, *ZRP*, XCVI (1980), 405-407.
- 2. K.D. Uitti, *MLR*, LXXVI (1981), 458-460.

II.

LITERATURE AND LIFE IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE AT THE TIME OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE EARLIER VERSIONS OF THE «VIE DE SAINT ALEXIS»

A selection of books and articles which will help the reader to appreciate the climate of the times in which the *VSA* appeared.

299. Paris, Gaston, *La Littérature française au Moyen Age (XI^e-XIV^e siècle)*, Paris: Hachette, 1888, vii + 292 pp. *5^e édition*; *notes bibliographiques revues, corrigées et augmentées*, Paris: Hachette, 1914, xx + 352 pp.

A concise survey of OF literature. There is a brief mention of the *VSA* on p. 212 of the 5th edition in which the notes are by P. Meyer.

- 1. F. Castets, *RLR*, XXXII (1888), 292-303.
- 2. J. Acher, *RLR*, LVII (1914), 409-411.

300. Zimmermann, Otto, *Die Totenklage in den altfranzösischen Chansons de Geste*, (Diss.), Berlin: Ebering, 1899, 45 pp.

Although the *VSA* does not figure in this doctoral thesis, it is interesting to compare the funeral orations and personal expressions of regret of the heroes of the *Chansons* with the sad laments of the parents and bride of Alexis.

301. Voretzsch, Karl, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen*

Literatur, im Anschluss an die Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Sprache, Halle: Niemeyer, 1905, 1912, 1925, xix + 552 pp.

• Anon., *Archiv* CXLIX (1926), 316-319.

Voretzsch, Karl, *Introduction to the study of Old French Literature. Authorized translation of the third and last German edition by Dr. Francis M. Du Mont*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1931, 532 pp.

A useful and very complete history. Voretzsch deals with the *VSA* on pp. 53-56 of the German version and pp. 50-54 of the English translation. He considers the date and place of composition, — possibly mid 11th century in Normandy, — the MSS, the origin of the legend and the form of the poem. There are helpful bibliographical notes. On p. 267 (German Edn.) and p. 256 (English Edn.) he notes the comparison between the *VSA* and the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras, (*v.* 306).

302. Paris, Gaston, *Esquisse historique de la littérature française au moyen âge depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle*, Paris: A. Colin, 1907, xi + 319 pp.

A useful, succint history. There is an appreciative mention of the *VSA* on pp. 80-81. This is a reworking of his *La Littérature française au Moyen Age*, 1888 (299), and is the last book he wrote.

• P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXVI (1907), 160.

303. Lerch, Eugen, «Zu den Anfängen der französischen Literatur», (pp. 96-112) *Vom Geiste neuer Literatur-forschung. Festschrift für Oskar Walzel*, Wildpark-Potsdam: Akad. Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1924, 232 pp.

The main theme of Lerch's article is the frequently raised question, — were the early literary works in French of clerical or of popular origin? He believes them to have been of clerical origin but wonders why a literature with such a background should have finished by becoming a-religious or anti-religious?
There are references to the *VSA* on pp. 97, 104-109, 111.

304. Olschki, Leonardo, *Die romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1928, 260 pp., VI plates.

This attractive, well written and beautifully illustrated volume contains some very pertinent remarks on the *VSA* (pp. 13-15) which Olschki regards as a poetical commentary on Matthew 10 vv. 37-38 and Luke 14 vv. 26-27.

305. Sühling, Friedrich, *Die Taube als religiöses Symbol im christlichen Altertum. Mit 47 Tafeln. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde u. für Kirchengeschichte, Suppt. XXIV*, Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1930, xxi + 329 pp.

A very detailed and fascinating study of the various symbolic roles of the dove in Christian and pre-Christian art and literature. The excellent plates cover a wide field. (*v.* also 134, 185)

306. Bossuat, Robert, *Le Moyen Age*, Paris: del Duca de Gigord, n.d. 368 pp. *Le Moyen Age*, (*Tome I, Hist. de la Litt. fr. publiée par J. Calvet*), Paris: J. de Gigord, 1931, 1955 (revised edn.), 442 pp. + 24 plates.

A valuable and satisfactorily complete history of medieval French literature. On pp. 40-42 (1931 ed.) there is a summary, with quotations, of the *VSA* and a brief comment on the poet's skill. On p. 93 the story of the birth of Alexis is compared to the birth of Eracle in the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras, (301 and 308).

- 1. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LVII (1931), 578-579.
- 2. R. de Cesare, *SF*, I (1957), 112-113.

307. Grundmann, Herbert, «Die Frauen und die Literatur im Mittelalter, ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Schrifttums in der Volkssprache». *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXVI (1935-1936), 129-161.

Grundmann covers a wide and potentially interesting array of women mentioned in French and German medieval works but does not refer to the mother and bride of Alexis.

308. Holmes, Urban T., *A History of Old French Literature from the origins to 1300*, New York: F.S. Crofts and Co., 1937, xii + 351 pp. There is a summary of the *VSA* on pp. 30-31 and a reference to the resemblance between the *VSA* and the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras, p. 147. (Cf 301, 306).

- R. Lévy, *MLN*, LIII (1938), 467-468.

309 Cohen, Gustave, *Anthologie de la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris: Delagrave, 1946, 1955, 254 pp.

Contains an interesting analysis of the *VSA* (pp. 16-20).

- J. Lods, *Rom.*, LXX (1948-1949), 141-142.

310. Holmes, Urban T., *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature* —

The Medieval Period, Syracuse, U.S.A.: Syracuse University Press, 1947, 292 pp.

Very complete. References to *VSA* (p. 10).

- M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXX (1948-1949) 431-432.

311. Zumthor, Paul, *Positions actuelles de la Linguistique et de l'Histoire littéraire* (Leçon inaugurale), Groningen: Wolters, 1948, 23 pp.

A useful survey of the modern approach to linguistic and literary criticism.

312. Cohen, Gustave, *La Vie littéraire en France au Moyen Age*, Paris: Tallendier, 1949, 477 pp.

Cohen considers (p. 60) that the *VSA* is contemporary with the *Chanson de Roland* or perhaps a little earlier. He mentions, *en passant*, that the tradition of the Alexis story is reflected in certain Canadian folk-songs and refers briefly to Henri Ghéon's play *Le Pauvre sous l'Escalier* (266).

313. Bossuat, Robert, *Manuel bibliographique de la Littérature française du moyen âge*, Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1951, xxxiv + 638 pp.

In this excellent manual Bossuat devotes pp. 8-10 to the *VSA* of which he rightly says: «Avec ce beau poème s'ouvre véritablement la littérature française du moyen âge.» Two supplements have been published: *Supplément* (1949-1953) Paris: Argences, 1955, 150 pp. — *Supplément* (1954-1960) Paris: Argences, 1961, 132 pp.

- M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXXII (1951), 283.

314. Zumthor, Paul, *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale (VI^e — XIV^e siècle)*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954, 344 pp.

A valuable and interesting study of the historical and social background to the literature of medieval France.

- 1. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXXV (1954), 286-287.
- 2. J. Bourciez, *RLR*, LXXII (1955), 112-113.
- 3. G.E. Brereton, *Med. Aev.*, XXV (1956), 86-88.
- 4. W. Ross, *Archiv*, CXCIII (1957), 82.

315. Crosland, Jessie, *Medieval French Literature*, Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1956, 266 pp.

This detailed history of Old French literature, apart from the epic romances, contains an excellent chapter (pp. 5-13) on the merits of the various versions of the *VSA*.

- 1. M. Roques, *Rom.*, LXXVII (1956), 413.
- 2. P. Rickard, *FS*, XI (1957), 168-169.

316. Kukenheim, Louis et Roussel, Henri, *Guide de la Littérature française du Moyen Age*, Leiden: Univ. Press, 1957, xiii + 219 pp.
The historical background to the literature of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries is very well portrayed. There are references to the *VSA* on pp. 14, 30, 115.
- E. Vidal, *Rom. Phil.*, XI (1958), 324-325.

317. Evans, Joan, *Life in Medieval France*, (Revised and newly illustrated edition). London: Phaidon Press, 1957, 255 pp. (first published in 1925, OUP, 234 pp.), 91 plates in black and white; 6 in colour.
A beautifully illustrated survey dealing with Feudal Society, Town Life, Monastic Life, Pilgrimages and Crusades, Learning and Education. There is a good Bibliography, an Index and a map of medieval France.
- M. Roques, *Rom.*, LII (1926), 235. (1925 edition).

318. Le Gentil, Pierre, *La Littérature française du Moyen Age*, Paris: A. Collin, n.d. (1963), 208 pp.
An excellent introduction to the subject. On pp. 18-20 there are interesting comments on the *VSA*, e.g. «avec le Saint Alexis notre littérature, loin de se renouveler, ou de s'émanciper, continue de se développer sous l'impulsion des clercs».
- F. Lecoy, *Rom.*, LXXXIV (1963), 432.

319. Fisher, John H. (Ed.) *The Medieval Literature of Western Europe: A Review of Research, mainly 1930-1960*, New York: New York Univ. Press, 1966, 432 pp.
There are references to various editions of the *VSA* in an article by Chas. A. Knudson and Jean Misrahi on p. 130.

320. Haucourt, Geneviève d', *La Vie au Moyen Age*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, 127 pp.
An excellent short survey of many aspects of life in the Middle Ages under three main headings: «La vie matérielle», «Le rythme du temps», «Le rythme de la vie».

321. Zumthor, Paul, *Essai de Poétique Mediévale*, Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1972, 518 pp.

A careful and very well documented study with a wide-ranging bibliography and an excellent index. In the chapter entitled *Chant et Récit* Zumthor has some interesting comments on the *VSA* (pp. 315-322). He stresses the virtues of the *L* version.

- W.D. Stempel, *Archiv*, CCX (1973), 445-452.

322. Macchia, Giovanni, *La Letteratura francese del Medioevo*, Turin: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 1973 (3rd Edition), 228 pp.

A concise history. On pp. 17-22 there is a summary of the *VSA* and on p. 26, a useful bibliography.

323. Fox, John, *A Literary History of France. The Middle Ages*, London: Benn, 1974, 380 pp.

A very useful volume. On pages 22-34 there are cogent remarks on various aspects of the *VSA*. Professor Fox compares the simplicity and austerity of the poem with that of the icons of the Eastern Church, and the tri-partite grief of the saint's father, mother and bride with the panels of a medieval triptych on the subject of grief. Fox comments too on the poet's lively use of direct speech and apostrophe and on his frequent use of abstract nouns.

- 1. H. Braet, *SF*, XIX (1975), 518.
- 2. W.G. van Emden, *FS*, XXIX (1975), 177-178.

324. Frappier, Jean, *Histoire, mythes et symboles. Etudes de littérature française*, Genève: Droz, 1976, 298 pp.

This interesting collection of essays includes a chapter on the forms and expressions of grief and mourning in OF literature. Cf. K.H. Gierden, (117).

- H. Braet, *Les Lettres Romanes*, XXXIV (1980), 271.

325. Baker, Derek, (Ed.) *Medieval Women*, Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1978, 396 pp.

This collection of essays contains an interesting study of the life of Christina of Markyate (cf. 38) by Christopher J. Holdsworth, (pp. 185-284).

326. Berkvam, Doris Desclais, *Enfance et maternité dans la littérature française des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris: Champion, (Collection *Essais* 8), 1981, 158 pp.

On pp. 113-114 the author states that, in her opinion, the lamentations of the mother of Alexis are the archetype of all expressions of grief and despair in later medieval French literature. (Cf. 117).

III.

NORMAN AND ANGLO-NORMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The works of Vising (327), Menger (332) and Pope (340) and the Introduction to Waters' edition of the *Vie de Saint Brendan* (338) provide an excellent survey of Norman and Anglo-Norman usages, while Professor Legge's *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (344) gives a broad conspectus of the literary scene.

327. Vising, Johan, *Etude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du XII^e siècle*, Upsala: Essaias Edquist, 1882, 104 pp.

A clear, accurate and reasonably complete study.

- Anon., *Rom.*, II (1882), 461-462.
- R. Boucherie, *RLR*, XXIII (1883), 180-184.

328. Stürzinger, Johann Jakob, *Orthographia Gallica, Ältester Traktat über französische Aussprache und Orthographie*, Heilbronn: Henninger, Altfranzösische Bibliothek, Bd. VIII, 1884, 52 pp.

A very useful source of information on the usages of Anglo-Norman writers.

- Anon., *Rom.*, XIII (1884), 488.

329. Eickershoff, Eberhard, *Ueber die Verdoppelung der Konsonanten im Altnormannischen*, (Inaug. Diss.), Halle: Braunschweig, 1885, 34 pp. and also in *Archiv*, LXXV (1886), 113-146; 285-336.

Eickershoff holds that consonants are doubled in Norman French to indicate either a lengthening of a consonant, as with *mm*, *nn*, *ll*, *rr*, or the unvoiced nature of a consonant, as with *ss*.
This view may well be true of some Anglo-Norman texts but no such rule is followed by the scribe of *L*. Cf. Morsbach (331).

330. Stimming, Albert, *Der Anglo-Normannische Boeve de Haumtone, zum ersten Male herausgegeben von A. Stimming*, Halle: Niemeyer, Bibliotheca Normannica, t. VII, 1899, 279 pp.

A valuable introduction to the study of an Anglo-Norman text. Re. the doubling of consonants (Cf. 329) he considers that in *Boeve* the cause is purely scribal error.

- G. Paris, *Rom.*, XXIX (1900), 127.

331. Morsbach, Lorenz, «Über anglofranzösische Konsonantendehnung» (pp. 324-330), *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie.*

Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster zum 26 Oktober 1901, Halle: Niemeyer, 1902, 499 pp.

For Morsbach the doubling of consonants represents the actual pronunciation of the Anglo-Norman scribes, a theory first enunciated by Eickershoff in 1886 (329). The confusion in the MS *L* of the *VSA*, however, points purely to scribal error whatever may have been the case with other Anglo-Norman scribes.

- A. Jeanroy, *Rom.*, XXXI (1902), 618.

332. Menger, Louis E., *The Anglo-Norman Dialect. A Manual of its Phonology and Morphology, with Illustrative Specimens of the Literature*, New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1904, 167 pp.
An excellent grammar; very complete and very reliable.

333. Boer, Cornelis de, *La Normandie et la Renaissance classique dans la littérature française du XII^e siècle. Leçon d'ouverture le 5 octobre 1912*, Groningen: M. de Waal, 1912, 39 pp.

Cornelis de Boer makes two fairly obvious points: and one interesting point:

1. That it is carrying purely linguistic criteria too far to attempt to separate Norman and Anglo-Norman texts.
2. That texts written in England or in Normandy in the XIIth century can almost always be distinguished from texts written in other forms of French.
3. That in the third quarter of the 12th century the particular interest of Anglo-Norman writers in the works of Greek and Roman authors had a profound influence on the writings of other French authors of the period.

- A. Jeanroy, *Rom.*, XLI (1912), 627.

334. Tanquerey, Frédéric-Joseph, *L'Evolution du verbe en anglo-français, (XII^e-XIV^e siècles)*, Paris: Champion, 1915, xxiv + 868 pp.
A very detailed study the Anglo-Norman verb.

- P. Lesourd, *Rom.*, XLVIII (1922), 316-317.

335. Studer, Paul, *The Study of Anglo-Norman. Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 6 February 1920*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920, 28 pp.

An excellent review of the interest and importance of Anglo-Norman as both a spoken and a written language. Any young scholar

interested in the study of Anglo-Norman would find this lecture a useful springboard for thought and action.

336. Prior, Oliver H., «Remarques sur L'Anglo-Normand», *Rom.*, XLIX (1923), 161-185.

An interesting and original article on the development of Anglo-Norman.

337. Vising, Johan, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, London: OUP, 1923, 111 pp.

A useful, readable summary of the history of Anglo-Norman and of its linguistic features, followed by a detailed catalogue of Anglo-Norman works of literature of the 12th-15th centuries. The book finishes with an excellent chapter on the vagaries of Anglo-Norman versification.

- M. Roques. *Rom.*, L (1924), 158.

338. Waters, Edwin G.R., *The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St Brendan*, Oxford: OUP, 1928, ccii + 212 pp.

The Introduction to this edition of a text which has many points of similarity with the *VSA*, is a valuable source of information for students of Anglo-Norman.

- A. Långfors, *Rom.*, LV (1929), 568-571.

339. Ewert, Alfred, *The French Language*, London: Faber, 1933, 1943, 1947, 437 pp.

This very sound study deals with OF and Anglo-Norman as well as with modern French. There is an extract from the *VSA* (ll. 61-75; 141-155) in the Appendix, with notes and a translation (pp. 355-358).

- P. Fouché, *RLR*, LXVII (1934), 205.
- H.F. Müller, *ZRP*, LVII (1937), 105-107.

340. Pope, Mildred K., *From Latin to Modern French with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman*, Manchester: MUP, 1934, 1952, xxix + 571 pp.

An indispensable guide to the phonology, morphology and syntax of OF with a long and valuable section on A-N. It is a pity that the author uses the phonetic symbols of the Copenhagen International Conference in preference to the much clearer symbols of the Association Phonétique Internationale.

- 1. I.D.O. Arnold, *Med. Aev.*, IV (1935), 106-113.

- 2. A. Ewert, *MLR*, XXX (1935), 385-390.
- 3. J. Jud, *Vox Romanica*, I (1936), 170-176.
- 4. G. Rohlfs, *Archiv*, CXC (1954), 262.

341. Walberg, Emanuel, *Quelques aspects de la littérature anglo-normande, Leçons faites à l'école des Chartes*, Paris: Droz, 1936, 144 pp.

The first lecture deals with the salient characteristics of the French language as it was spoken and written in England and with the general nature of Anglo-Norman literature. The second lecture deals with A-N scientific, religious and moral works and with serious theatrical works, while the third discusses saints' Lives, historical works and imaginative works.

A valuable and stimulating book.

- 1. W.H. Trethewey, *ZRP*, LVII (1937), 743-748.
- 2. J. Vising, *Med. Aev.*, VI (1937), 238-240.

342. Legge, M. Dominica, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters, The Influence of the Orders upon Anglo-Norman Literature*, Edinburgh: Edin. Univ. Press. 1950, 147 pp.

An interesting study of the influence of the Church on A-N literature.

- 1. A. Ewert, *FS*, V (1951), 66-67.
- 2. R.J. Schoek, *MLN*, LXVI (1951), 492-493.

343. Legge, M. Dominica, «Anglo-Norman studies to-day», *R. Ling. Rom.*, XVII (1952) 212-222.

A valuable, rapid and detailed survey of scholarly work in the field of A-N studies in 1952.

344. Legge, M. Dominica, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, Oxford: OUP, 1963, 389 pp.

A detailed study of the development of A-N literature. There is an important chapter on saints' Lives in which Professor Legge mentions the fact that the *VSA* is the first of many OF works to make use of the theme of renunciation and that the popular theme of virginity is first exploited in OF in the *Séquence de Ste Eulalie* and the *VSA*.

- 1. S. Cigada, *SF*, VIII (1964), 517-518.
- 2. E.J. Arnould, *FS*, XIX (1965), 278-279.
- 3. F. Lecoy, *Rom.*, LXXXVI (1965), 143.

4. E.A. Francis, *Med. Aev.*, XXXV (1966), 141-143.

345. Legge, M. Dominica, *The Significance of Anglo-Norman, Univ. of Edinburgh Inaugural Lecture, No 38*, Edin.: Univ. Edin. Press. 1968, 11 pp.

Professor Legge asks and answers the questions, «What is Anglo-Norman?» and «Why should Anglo-Norman be a worthy subject for University study?»

346. Legge, M. Dominica, «L'Anglo-Normand Langue Coloniale?» pp. 85-91, *Actes du XIII^e Congrès international de Linguistique et de Philologie romanes*, t. II Québec: Université Laval, 1971, 1248 pp.

Professor Legge's aim is to show that Anglo-Norman is neither a dialect nor a deformed variety of French, but rather a language with the normal characteristics of a colonial tongue.

IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH VERSIFICATION

The Introduction to Meunier's edition of the *VSA* (24) contains perhaps the best short summary of the development of French versification in the Middle Ages.

The works mentioned in this section, from the treatise of M. Mourgues, 1697, to the learned studies of G. Lote, 1949-1955, provide a wide conspectus of the developing views of scholars as to the essential virtues of French verse. I include a brief selection from the many useful books which have appeared since Lote's time. In the *VSA* we have the first example of the use of the decasyllabic line in OF verse.

347. Mourgues, Michel, *Traité de la Poësie Françoise. Seconde Edition augmentée*, Toulouse: Boude, 1697, 288 pp.

One of the earliest works on the rules of French versification and the types of lines, stanzas and forms of verse suited to the French tongue.

348. Quicherat, Louis, *Traité de Versification française*, Paris: Hachette, 1838, 1850, 420 pp.

After the work of M. Mourgues of 1697 this is the first systematic treatise on French versification. It is based almost exclusively on examples from the works of writers of the Classical period.

349. Diez, Friedrich, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale berichtigt und*

erklärt nebst einer Abhandlung über den epischen Vers, Bonn: E. Weber, 1846, 132 pp.

Linguistic notes on the *Strasbourg Oaths, Eulalie, Boëce* followed by a consideration of early versification including a chapter on the decasyllable, with some remarks on the *VSA* (p. 114).

350. Becq de Fouquières, Louis, *Traité général de versification française*, Paris: Charpentier, 1879, xvi + 399 pp.

Becq de Fouquières claims that his very detailed study of French versification is the first to explain fully the fact that French verse is based on something more than mere syllable-count.

351. Tobler, Adolf, *Vom französiśchen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit. Zusammenstellung der Anfangsgründe*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1880, 1883, 1893, 1903, 1910, 177 pp.

Tobler, Adolf, *Le Vers français ancien et moderne, Traduit sur la deuxième édition allemande par Karl Breul et Léopold Sudre, avec une préface par M. Gaston Paris*, Paris: Vieweg, 1885, 209 pp.

A sound study of the development of French verse.

- G. Paris. *Rom.*, XIV (1885) 630.

352. Reissert, Oswald, *Die syntaktische Behandlung des zehnsilbigen Verses im Alexius- und Rolandsliede*, (Diss.), Marburg: R. Friedrich, 1883, 44 pp. (Also in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, XIII, Marburg: Elwert, 1884, 100 pp.)

A detailed but dull survey.

353. Vising, Johan, *Sur la versification anglo-normande*, Upsala: Almquist and Wiksell, 1884, 91 pp.

A clear, comprehensive survey of the so-called German and French theories relating to the scansion of A-N verse. Vising is of the opinion that A-N verse is syllabic (vitiated at times by understandable errors by the poet or the scribe) and not, as Suchier and Koch held, accentual because of the influence of English verse, (*v.* also 337).

- P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XV (1886), 144-148.

354. Kawczynski, Maximilien, *Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes*, Paris: Bouillon, 1889, 220 pp.

In this long essay Kawczynski traces the rhythms of 19th century French verse back to the literary forms of ancient Greece.

- G. Paris, *Rom.*, XIX (1890), 371.

355. Becker, Philipp August, *Ueber den Ursprung der romanischen Versmasse*, Strasbourg: Trübner, 1890, 54 pp.

Becker traces the evolution of verse in the Romance Languages. In an Appendix he states his agreement with Hofmann (13) that the Prologue to the *VSA* is a *Reimprosa* and, by dint of altering some tenses, changing the order of some sentences and adding the odd word or two, endeavours to prove his point!

- Anon., *Rom.*, XIX (1890), 497.

356. Aubertin, Charles, *La Versification française et ses nouveaux théoriciens: les règles classiques et les libertés modernes*, Paris: Belin, 1898, 328 pp.

The title explains the aim of the author. A useful study.

357. Kastner, Leon E., *A History of French Versification*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1903, 312 pp.

A sound history despite some minor errors; exhaustive and with all statements fully backed by examples. There is unfortunately no index; Kastner's reviewers were unnecessarily unkind.

- 1. J. Bédier, *Rom.*, XXXII (1903), 637.
- 2. A. Schinz, *MLN*, XIX (1904), 86-90.

358. Grammont, Maurice, *Le Vers français: ses moyens d'expression, son armonie*, Paris: Picard, 1904, (new edition 1913 with the *h* added to *armonie*), 454 pp. Re-issued 1961.

An acute study of the musical values of French verse.

- G. Millardet, *Rom.*, XLIII (1914), 260-269.

359. Warren, Frederick M., «Some features of Style in early French narrative poetry (1150-1170)», *Mod. Phil.*, III (1905-1906), 179-209; 513-539; IV (1906-1907), 655-675.

These three well-informed articles deal with:

1. «Transposed parallelism, or repetition with transposition of the word at the rhyme.»
2. «Direct repetition of words, phrases and lines.»
3. «Dialogues in alternative lines and in the same line.»
4. «The tirade lyrique, or couplets in monorhyme.»
5. «The broken couplet.»

There are brief references to the usages of the author of the *VSA* on pp. 183, 531-532 of vol. III and p. 656 of vol. IV.

360. Grammont, Maurice, *Petit traité de versification française*, Paris: A. Colin, 1908, 1911, 1937 et seq. 142 pp. 19th edn. 1962, 162 pp.

A scholarly, detailed survey of the whole field. The 1962 edition has a useful bibliography; the Index incorporates a «répertoire des définitions».

- 1. J. Ronjat, *RLR*, LI (1908), 381-383.
- 2. J. Acher, *RLR*, LVII (1914), 374-400.

361. Pope, Mildred K., «Four Chansons de Geste: a study in Old French epic versification», *MLR*, VIII (1913), 352-367.

A thoughtful study with special reference to the use of the strophe in narrative verse. Miss Pope considers that the author of the *Roland* deals much more skilfully with this than does the author of the *Chanson de Willelme*. On p. 364 she declares that in the *Roland* the group AOI «was destined to mark the end of the strophes and important enough to be parodied as late as the end of the 13th century», in the Portuguese *Gesta de Maldizer*. In the *Roland* however, AOI does not occur at the end of every stanza and there is no reason to suppose that the poet ever intended that it should do so.

362. Thieme, Hugo P., *Essai sur l'histoire du vers français*, Paris: Champion, 1916, 432 pp.

A very full and detailed history of French versification with interesting comparisons with verse forms and techniques in other European languages.

- M. Roques, *Rom.*, XLV (1918-1919), 607-608.

363. Faral, Edmond, *Les Arts poétiques du XII^e^ et du XIII^e^ siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge. BEHE, fasc. 238*, Paris: H. Champion, 1924, xvi + 384 pp.

A very thorough and scholarly study of the theory and practice of verse-writing in the Middle Ages based on a careful examination of contemporary writings on the art of verse.

- C.I. Wilson, *MLR*, XX (1925), 212-214.

364. Verrier, Paul, *Le Vers français*, Formes primitives — Développement — Diffusion, Paris: Didier, 1931-1932, Tome I *La Formation du Poème*, 1931, 300 pp. — Tome II Les Mètres, 1932, 328 pp. — Tome III Adaptations germaniques, 1932, 390 pp.

An interesting, wide-ranging but rather disorganised work which cries aloud for a full index.

365. Becker, Philipp August, «Die Anfaïge der romanischen Verskunst», *ZFSL*, LVI (1932), 257-323.

In this long and detailed article, Becker indicates the Latin origins of the usual OF verse forms. There is a useful section (pp. 264-268) entitled «Das Alexiuslied und der epische Zehnsilber».

366. Meunier, Jean-Marie, *La Vie de Saint Alexis, poème français du XI^e siècle*, Paris: Droz, 1933, 434 pp. (24).

In his introductory chapters Meunier has an excellent section devoted to a study of the evolution of the decasyllabic line in OF, (pp. 71-119).

367. Lote, Georges, *Les Origines du Vers français*, Aix-en-Provence: E. Fourcine, 1940, 213 pp.

An interesting study with many new theories. Lote believes in the liturgical origin of French versification which is based on syllable-count, plus an accent at the caesura and the rhyme or assonance. This study eventually formed the first chapter of Lote's *Histoire du Vers français*, 1949.

- C. Margueron. *Rom.*, LXVII (1942-1943), 104-106.

368. Lote, Georges, *Histoire du Vers français*, I, II, III, Paris: Boivin, 1949, 1951, 1955; 359, 316, 375 pp. respectively.

A very important work indeed containing many new and interesting theories not all of which have been accepted by scholars. The first 161 pages are mainly taken from Lote's *Les Origines du Vers français*, (367). Vols. IV-XII have not yet been published though Professor Lote told me, shortly before his death, that they were virtually ready for publication.

- 1. W. Suchier, *Rom. Jhb.*, III (1950), 596-600.
- 2. J. Bourciez, *RLR*, LXXI (1951), 123-125; 218-220, and LXXII (1955), 378-379.
- 3. G. Rohlfs, *Archiv* CLXXXIX (1952) 80, 390.
- 4. A. Ewert, *FS*, VII (1953), 346-348 (Vols. I and II).
- 5. A. Ewert, *FS*, X (1956), 374-375 (Vol. III).

369. Lausberg, Heinrich, «Zur Metrik des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes», *Romanische Forschungen*, LXVII (1956), 293-319.

An interesting and detailed study of the probable influence of the versification of the *VSA* on that of the *Chanson de Roland*.

370. Lausberg, Heinrich, «Zur altfranzösischen Metrik», pp. 277-312 *Romanica. Festschrift für Gerhard Rohlfs*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1958, 548 pp.

Mainly concerned with possible Latin origins of the OF decasyllabic line. There are references to the *Ste Eulalie*, the *Epîtres farcies* and the *VSA*.

- F. Lecoy, *Rom.*, LXXXII (1961), 267.

371. Roncaglia, Aurelio, «*L'Alexandre* d'Alberic et la séparation entre Chanson de Geste et Roman», *Studia Romanica*, IV (1963), 37-60. *Chanson de Geste und Höfischer Roman, Heidelberger Kolloquium* 30 Januar 1961, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1963, 83 pp.

A convincing study of the way in which the *laisse* has developed from the *strophe*.

372. Smeets, Jean R., «'Alexis' et la 'Bible' de Herman de Valenciennes: le problème de l'origine de la laisse», *Cahiers*, VI (1963), 315-325.

Smeets believes that Herman was influenced by the *VSA* and that his *laisse* was a development of the strophe of the Alexis poet.

- V. Bertolucci, *SF*, VIII (1964), 518.

373. Zumthor, Paul, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XI-XIII siècles)*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1963, 225 pp.

The technical jargon used by the author makes the appreciation and understanding of his theories concerning the nature of poetry unnecessarily difficult. There are brief and not very helpful references to the *VSA* on pp. 13, 48, 59, 62, 72-73, 76-77. There is no index. Cf. his more interesting *Essai de poétique médiévale*, (321).

- 1. R. de Cesare, *SF*, VIII (1964), 515.
- 2. F.J. Barnett, *FS*, XIX (1965), 284-285.

374. Monteverdi, Angelo, «Problèmes de versification romane», pp. 33-54, *Actes du X^e Congrès international de Linguistique et Philologie romanes*, (1962), I, Paris: Klincksieck, 1965, 416 pp.

A fresh and interesting paper on the development of the decasyllabic line and the alexandrine in OF verse.

375. Aspland, Clifford W., *A Syntactical Study of Epic Formulas and Formulaic Expressions containing the -ant Forms in Twelfth Century French Verse*, Queensland: Univ. of Queensland Press, 1970, xxii + 175 pp.

A very imaginative and detailed study of the use of formulas in verse.

- 1. B. Folkart, *SF*, XV (1971), 122.
- 2. P. Rickard, *Med. Aev.*, XL (1971), 190-192.
- 3. P. Zumthor, *Neophil.*, LVI (1972), 502.

376. Sabatier, Robert, *Histoire de la poésie française*, t. I, *La Poésie du Moyen Age*, Paris: A. Michel, 1975, 396 pp.

A fascinating, enthusiastic and very well-written survey, or, in Sabatier's words, «un voyage amoureux». There are cogent remarks on the *VSA* on pp. 19, 21, 23, 24. On p. 24 he says, rightly, that the later versions of the *Vie* add only «chevilles et redites».

There are no notes and no bibliography and a fair number of errors of fact here and there.

1. B. Vadin, *SF*, XIX (1975), 518.
2. D.D.R. Owen, *MLR*, LXXII (1977), 674.

377. *Volkoff, Vladimir, *Vers une métrique française*, Columbia, South Carolina: Fr. Lit. Publications, 1978, 200 pp.

Volkoff holds that French verse rests on a metrical system based on the anapaest and the iambus.

- G. Chesters, *MLR*, LXXVI (1981), 689-690.

378. Scott, Clive, *French Verse-Art. A study*, Cambridge: CUP, 1980, xv + 252 pp.

Scott makes a point of stressing the fundamental differences between the French and English verse traditions and reviews current French thinking on versification.

- A. Fairlie, *FS*, XXXVII (1983), 369-370.

379. Johnston, Ronald C., On scanning Anglo-Norman verse, *Anglo-Norman Studies* V (1982), 154-164.

An interesting and original article, best summarised in Prof. Johnston's concluding words: «So far in the history of Anglo-Norman Studies the French have made most of the running. Their syllabic analyses have probably yielded all the mileage there is in them. I believe it is time for the 'Anglo' side of Anglo-Norman to be studied, with English ideas of rhythm in mind. How welcome it would be if English scholars made renewed efforts to get to grips with this part of their English heritage.»

V.

PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUAL EDITING

The works cited explain in some detail the various theories based mainly on the ideas of Lachmann and of Bédier. It is interesting to note that in some quarters there is now a tendency to return to the methods of Lachmann and his followers. (*Vide* K.Lachman's *Edn. of de N.T.*, 1842.)

380. Bédier, Joseph, *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, Fribourg: Œuvre de Saint Paul, 1890, 55 pp. and Paris: *SATF*, Firmin Didot, 1913, xlv + 95 pp.

In his celebrated Preface (1913 edition), pp. xxiii-xlv, Bédier repudiates the attempts of earlier editors to arrive at the original author's text by establishing a stemma of the available MSS. The best we can do is to reproduce as faithfully as possible, with the minimum of corrections, the version of the best MS, which may not necessarily be the oldest.

- G. Paris, *Rom.*, XIX (1890), 609-615.

381. Madan, Falconer, *Books in Manuscript, A short introduction to their study and use*, (first edition 1893) *Second edition, revised*, London: Kegan Paul, 1920, xv + 208 pp.

A brief explanation of the current principles of textual criticism is given on pp. 68-87.

382. Roques, Mario, «Etablissement de règles pratiques pour l'édition des anciens textes français et provençaux», *Rom.*, LII (1926), 243-249.

Useful advice on the use of accents, spelling problems etc. Wise stressing of need for complete glossaries.

383. Quentin, (Dom) Henri, *Essais de Critique Textuelle* (*Ecdotique*), Paris: Auguste Picard, 1926, 179 pp.

Quentin suggests some improvements on the Lachmann method of establishing a schéma. He looks for an archetype rather than an original and for common variants rather than common faults.

384. Bédier, Joseph, «La Tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*. Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes», *Rom.*, LIV (1928), 161-196; 321-356.

The theme of this important article is best summarised in Bédier's concluding words: «Aussi la méthode d'édition la plus recommandable est-elle peut-être, en dernière analyse, celle que régit un esprit de

défiance de soi, de prudence, d'extrême 'conservatisme', un énergique vouloir, porté jusqu'au parti pris, d'ouvrir aux scribes le plus large crédit et de ne toucher au texte d'un manuscrit que l'on imprime qu'en cas d'extrême et presque évidente nécessité.»

385. Coculesco, Pius Servien, «Sur les Méthodes de Critique Textuelle du Type Lachmann-Quentin», *Grai si Suflet, revue de l'Institut de philologie et de folklore de l'Université de Bucarest*, (1928), 7-15.

A brief, clear exposition of the theories of Lachmann, Quentin and Bédier. Coculesco fully supports Bédier.

386. Legge, M. Dominica, «Recent Methods of Textual Criticism», *Arthuriana*, II (1929-1930), 48-55.

A clear summary of the methods of Lachmann, Quentin and Bédier, based on a consideration of Bédier's introduction to his 1913 edition of the *Lai de l'ombre*, Dom Quentin's *Essais de Critique Textuelle*, and Bédier's reply in *Romania*, LIV (1928), 161-196; 321-356. Professor Legge concludes that «the safest course is to carry on after M. Bédier».

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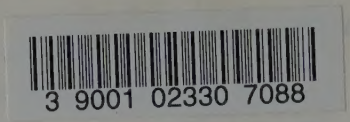
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